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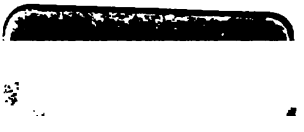

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RT. REV. JOHN ENGLAND, D. D.

BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.

THE CHOICE WORKS

—OF THE—

RT. REV. JOHN ENGLAND,

BISHOP OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

—WITH—

MEMOIR, MEMORIALS, NOTES, AND FULL INDEX.

BY HUGH P. McELRONE.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

VOLUME I.

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PREFACE.

AMONG the writings which have been placed before the American public, those of Bishop England must ever occupy a high place. Whether we regard him as a champion of the Church or as an eloquent orator on literary and social themes, we see a man of subtile genius, solid learning, and that forcible earnestness which in all ages makes its mark.

Cumbered with extraneous matter and badly edited, the first edition of his works was speedily exhausted. The object of the present edition is to free his works from those imperfections, and to present them to the public in that shape which the great bishop himself would have chosen had he lived to give the final touches to the children of his brain. Engaged in a succession of controversies, he necessarily reverted to the same subject time and again; consequently many of his articles were mere repetitions, and in these cases the editor has selected that which presents the subject best, fortified by notes from other articles and such sources of information as were within reach. He has also found an immense amount of matter in the 1849 edition, not written by Bishop England, but consisting of newspaper clippings of no interest now, or else of half-digested papers stated to be by "other hands." None of this appears in the present edition; every line in it, except the memoir, notes, etc., is from the pen of the great prelate.

The memoir is not of that species which may be described as "linkéd sweetness long drawn out;" the aim is to give, together with a rapid *resumé* of the principal events in his life, a living picture of the man. The notes and the index have been carefully prepared, and the latter will be found useful to those who desire to delve in the rich literary and historical mines embedded in these volumes.

Long and faithful labor has been given to the work, and it is trusted that it will be appreciated, not only by Catholics, but also by the general public.

H. P. M.

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MEMOIR OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

"JOHN ENGLAND is a bad boy, because he will not learn how to dance." Such was the sentence found in a school-book of John England's. What a revelation! Evidently a tough character from the start; achieving the reputation of a "bad boy" "because he would not learn how to dance." And he never did learn how "to dance;" never would "trip the light fantastic toe" to the most persuasive strains of official harp and viol or under threat even of the lash of power. Ancestors likewise; setting at defiance laws of tyranny, teaching a hedge-school out there in the mountain waste of Ireland, and keeping alive memories of the old Keltic glory. What though the stout-hearted young fellow, destined to become the father of a great man, a man in every sense of the word—what though he be thrown into prison for teaching—he laughs at their heretical oaths, and escapes to resume his school in the ditch.

Thus handed down, the strong old spirit, along with good blood, was born into John England in the classic city of Cork, Sept. 23, 1786. Chaotic world into which this chubby, strong-fisted baby came crying I doubt not. Thunders of the great Revolution in the far new world not yet died away; Europe, corrupt to the heart, quivering over a terrific social volcano; all eyes blinded by the signs of the lightning of God's wrath blazing in the sky. When the time comes, this little babe, grown up to man's estate, will take share in the world-wide Revolution going on; most notably in recalling Ireland, who was dangerously fascinated by the French Revolution, from her imitation, just beginning, of the Revolution's atheistic excesses.

Fifteen years of peace, however, glided on; of peace, but not of idleness. Few anecdotes of this youth, those immortal myths which are the natural growth or fungi of all great men's biographies, are handed down to us. He was persecuted and called the little "Papist" in this Cork school. In after life, it is said, he met one of his chief tormenters in the church, and fell into such a rage that he could with difficulty control his emotion and proceed with the Mass. Having signified a desire to enter the priesthood, Rt. Rev. Francis Moylan placed him in the charge of Rev. Robert McCarthy, *dean of the diocese.* Before deciding conclusively on *his vocation, he studied law under* an eminent barrister of Cork—a train-

ing of which he afterwards showed the rich effect in his masterly style of summarizing arguments. Having concluded that the priesthood was his calling, on the 31st of August, 1803, he entered the College of Carlow. The energy and untiring zeal of the man developed early. "Work while it is day, for the night cometh, when no man can work," was his motto. Procuring the establishment of a female penitentiary, and schools for poor boys and girls; delivering discourses in the parish chapel; laboring among the militia stationed in Carlow—these are the glimpses we get of his five years of study in college. A curious incident happened in his military missionism. The officer in command was persuaded, by misrepresentations, to bring the soldiers who attended his instructions to court-martial; but, to the discomfiture of the fanatics, the trial ended with the acquittal of the men, the officer even encouraging them to continue in their course. In his old age and in far-away America, the bishop never tired of recalling this incident and of expressing his delight that his mission, like that of St. Francis de Sales, began amongst the military.

In 1808 he returned to Cork for the purpose of receiving holy orders. He was made deacon on October 9, and the following day was ordained to the priesthood, by dispensation, as he had not reached the canonical age. Immediately appointed lecturer at the cathedral,* he delivered there a series of brilliant discourses on the Old and New Testaments. Besides these, he preached sermons in the small chapel of the Presentation Convent, which was always crowded by persons eager to hear his magical words. Nor did he pause at words. His zeal expressed itself in practical works. The present Magdalen Asylum, built at the expense of Mr. Therry, was in process of erection, and always being touched with a peculiar pity for the poor outcasts of the world, he turned his attention to this institution and was largely instrumental in making it a success. In the May of 1808 he established a monthly periodical, *Religious Repertory*, conducting it for several years, and gaining here the first experience of that journalism which afterwards was of so much use. A free circulating library in the parish of St. Mary's, Shandon, was another of his works.

His next labor was visiting the city jail, for the purpose of carrying consolation to the unfortunate prisoners. Here he toiled, unpaid, except by his own conscience, for many years; especially among the poor fellows, chiefly "political criminals," destined to be sent out into that bleak world of Australia, with little chance of seeing a priest in the bushes of an unsettled country. One of his adventures while on this mission, together with many

* "North Cork Chapel," says Mr. Wm. Geo. Read; but I am inclined to believe, from the strongest evidences, that the cathedral was the right place.

others too horrible to describe, confirmed in him that undying hatred, which every Irishman cherishes with sacred care, of the despotism sitting like an incubus upon unhappy Ireland. A prisoner, buried in a fetid dungeon, had given way to frantic despair. Soothed by the gentle ministrations of Father England, the man confessed he had been an emissary of the government. What was, and is, the business of an "emissary of the government?" Listen. An "emissary of the government" made up conspiracies, and then betrayed them. Possessed at length of too many secrets, the government distrusted him, and entrapped him on an occasion of usual felony. This was the reason of his despair. Father England assured him that steps would be taken for his relief, and promised to come back next day. He did so, but the prisoner was gone. Now for the sequel of this tragic story. Years afterwards a man called on the Bishop of Charleston, and told him he had seen the unfortunate wretch in an obscure prison of India. The man told the narrator his dreadful history and its end. The cold-blooded, cruel, heartless miscreant* who ruled Ireland then, had become alarmed at England's interference, and had spirited the culprit away.

Rays of light, penetrating the dark night behind us, reveal this indefatigible man still at work. In 1812 he was president of the College of St. Mary, teaching pupils their theological course. In the same year his first recorded experience in politics took place. He was fond in after life of dilating on this feat. For the two Parliamentary seats of Cork there were three candidates—one Liberal and two wealthy Tories who were also malignant Orangemen. Most of the electors were tenants of the two Tories, and it was feared that if they dared to vote in two Liberals, the result would be materially disastrous to the voters. But it was determined to elect one Liberal. But how to do so? Father England doffed his professor's gown for the day, and, under pledge not to be interfered with in any way nor pestered by the usual swarm of political advisers, took dictatorial charge of the matter. The result, instead of being a tragedy, was a rich comedy. He organized a large body of voters, sworn to cast their ballots as he directed, and whose prudence he could rely on. These he posted, on the day of election, in a position apart, strictly binding them to hold no intercourse with any one but himself. Then he sent for the Tory agents and chatted with them in this pleasant manner: "A great many of our party are willing to vote for one or other of your respective candidates, but they fear that their right to vote for the Liberal candidate will be interfered with. Now, gentlemen, I warn you! I shall have you and your associates nar-

* Byron's line.

rowly watched, and every instance of intimidation or attempt at it I will instantly punish by voting ten men for your Tory adversary." They apprehended the situation; they were caught. The polling began. Very soon a Catholic voter was threatened by his landlord's agent. The case was reported to the chairman. In terror the agent rushed to Dr. England, explaining and apologizing; but nothing would do; the ten votes were promptly deposited for the rival Tory and the Liberal. There was no trouble after this. When the Liberal candidate was so far ahead that defeat was impossible, the professor, merrily telling them they had behaved very well, left the Tory agents to canvass the remaining voters.

In 1813 a jubilee, in which Dr. England took a leading part, was granted by the Pope to the Catholics of Cork, on the completion of their new cathedral. Another anecdote is related of Dr. England as occurring in the following year. Traveling from Cork to Dublin, on important diocesan business, the fall of snow during the night prevented the coach from going beyond Carlow. He, with some others whose business was urgent, set out to walk the rest of the way. Sinking exhausted in the icy cold, his companions abandoned him to his fate. A countryman, who had great difficulty in awakening him, found him in a comatose condition. "I am a priest," was all he could say, but it was enough. The faithful Kelt at once put forth all his energies and conveyed him to the shelter of his cabin nearby.

Destiny preserved him for the doing of great things. That very year there was need of his voice and his pen in the land, and his voice was raised, his pen set to work. Of all the vile acts of which the miserable Castlereagh was guilty in the course of a shameful life ended by his own hand, that of trying to subsidize the Catholic clergy, and thereby enslave them to the State, was perhaps the most vile. The nature of the attempt may be learned by turning to the last passages of "Epochs of Irish History," and the result of the civil power dabbling in Church affairs is most powerfully shown in the sketch of the Greek Schism, which is one of the best and most compact studies of that terrible ecclesiastical disaster extant. The government was willing to grant Catholic emancipation, provided a veto upon ecclesiastical nominations was allowed to the crown, and in order to gain the clergy offered to pay them salaries. The heartless aristocracy and gentry were willing to give in. Some of the hierarchy gaped also for the gilded bait in the centre of which was a deadly poison taint. But the noble priests of Ireland stood firm. Nevertheless, there was danger in the air. England borrowed money on his own responsibility, and, in opposition to the wishes even of his dio-

cesan, assumed editorial charge of the *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, the failing organ of the Liberal party. In the columns of this journal he so clearly and forcibly showed the evil character of this step, at once treason to their country and heresy to their creed, that the whole nation as a solid unit rejected the scheme with scorn.

He then showed the grounds upon which the agitation for true Catholic emancipation should be carried on, and when O'Connell began his crusade he had no abler backer than England. The value of his assistance to the great Agitator could not be better told in a hundred tomes than in the pithy exclamation of O'Connell later in life: "With Bishop England at my back, I would not fear the whole world before me."

It was not to be expected that the fearless journalist which England proved himself to be would escape the rigors of tyrannical laws. On one occasion he scathingly commented on the corruption of the judges and the iniquity of packed Orange juries. Earl Talbot, the Tory Lord Lieutenant, was down on him at once. A fine of five hundred pounds was his reward for telling the truth, in default of which—for he could not pay it—he took his place in the cell of the jail his father had occupied. Again: O'Connell went into the newspaper office while the editor was absent, and wrote a scorching article. Proceedings were begun. The only person in the office who could identify O'Connell's caligraphy was the journeyman—a Protestant—who had set the piece, but he was true as steel. The real offender not being found, the editor was responsible; but, as chance would have it, the official certificate of editorship had been cancelled that very day, and thus the charge could not be brought home to England. Then the poor journeyman was clapped into prison, and during many months the Catholics supported his family. At last it leaked out that he was only detained to annoy the Liberals; supplies ceased, and the journeyman was allowed to go free.

On severing his connection with the paper, Dr. Murphy, who had succeeded Bishop Moylan, appointed England in 1817 to the parish of Bandon. This was the celebrated town over whose entrance gate was written the inscription welcoming "the Turk, the Atheist, and the Jew," but banning "the Papist."* Much of the bigotry still remained. For three years† Father England labored to overcome it, working, preaching,

* Dean Swift, on seeing the inscription, extemporized the following retort:

"He who wrote this wrote it well,
For the same is writ o'er the gate of hell."

† Mr. Read says "six years," but this could not be, for he received the appointment in 1817 *and left for America* in 1820.

and lecturing, until finally he brought the factions together in a genial social band. While here an attempt to assassinate him failed. A great Hand was guarding that life destined for an arena of noble toil.

The call came. After being twelve years a priest, he was nominated to the just created See of Charleston, S. C. He was consecrated at St. Finbar's Cathedral September 21, 1820.* Characteristically, he refused to take the usual oath of allegiance, having resolved never to wear a mitre under the British flag. "As soon as I reach my see," he said, "my first step will be to renounce this allegiance; therefore, the form is now idle and useless." Sailing from Belfast, he arrived in Charleston December 30, 1820. He was accompanied by Father Corkery, the first priest he ever ordained, two or three students, and his sister, Johanna Monica England.†

The new Diocese of Charleston comprised the three States of North and South Carolina and Georgia. It embraced an area of 127,500 square miles, and contained a white and black population of 1,063,000, of whom about 1,000 were Catholics.

This was the prospect the young bishop had to face. There were two apologies for churches—mere shanties—with congregations torn by scandals, and two priests, who fled on his arrival. Father Corkery died soon after, and he was left alone. Never perhaps since the time of the Apostles, except in the case of missionaries to heathen lands, was a bishop reduced to such a state before. There was scarcely a shelter to cover his head, and the great Protestant Tradition of England was in a most virile and flourishing condition. Ignorance of the truths of the Church made his task dangerous as well as arduous. There he was, to hew out and build up a diocese, while he struggled to beat down the tradition of bigotry. He was like a pioneer of the West, holding the plow with one hand and the rifle with the other. Nothing daunted, he bravely put his hands to work; ay, and head and heart, too.

For that same head had in it thoughts destined to live, and in that heart flowed placid streams of poetry and rushing torrents of eloquence, which would, when unpent, carry everything before them from end to end of the land.

An extensive lot at the upper extremity of Broad street, then on the outskirts, but now in the heart of the city, was purchased; a tem-

*Bishop Murphy, assisted by Bishops Moran, of Ossory, and Kelley, of Richmond, Va., performed the ceremony.

†This estimable lady died in a few years.

porary wooden structure was erected to do duty for a church, and a humble cottage beside it served for the episcopal palace. Unterrified by the alarm and horror his presence excited, behold him then walking down Broad street, hands clasped behind back, buckled shoes, traditional knee-short clothes, frockcoat with military flaps, wide-brimmed Quaker hat, purple Roman collar, close-buttoned vest—never with cigar or snuff-box in hand, for he detested Virginia's weed—such he is, poor as a beggar, but independent as a king.

Recognizing at once the value of the press as an auxiliary of the Church, almost the first work of the bishop was to establish the *United States Catholic Miscellany.**

The *Miscellany* was practically the first Catholic journal in the United States. It existed forty years, until 1861, when it perished through the beginning of the Civil War. Few of its numbers have escaped the ravages of fire. The library edition was destroyed in the disastrous conflagration in Charleston, 1861. There is only one copy extant, possessed by the bishop's family in Cork. Miss England aided her brother, until her death, in conducting the *Miscellany*. Her pen frequently wrote in its columns, and her gentleness often toned down the sternness of his logic. A characteristic anecdote is told of the bishop in this connection. When the weekly issue was threatened from lack of help or other causes, he often went into the printing office and composed those brilliant articles which charmed alike the most fastidious Catholic and Protestant circles, not in writing, but in type!

His most important work, however, was the formation of a diocesan seminary in 1824, of which Andrew Byrne, afterwards Bishop of Little Rock, was the first student. Very soon he had a band of fifty zealous priests, most of them young men. Churches rose like magic before his steps. Frail most of them were, but foundations for after times. The Cathedral of St. Finbar, in Charleston, lasted thirty years, when at length it made way for the new one, built on a scale of great magnificence, but it was destroyed by the fire of 1861. Thus Bishop England's dream vanished. He had never seen even the beginning of its realization. The cathedral will, however, soon be replaced by a fine structure, for which a large amount of money has been raised.

*The statement in Father O'Connell's book, "Catholicity in the Carolinas and Georgia," is inaccurate. The controversy on the Roman Chancery, which led to the editor of the *Courier* refusing to insert his replies except as advertisements, occurred in 1839, long after the *Miscellany* was established. These *advertisements* – the best that he could do—were too condensed and also covered too much ground in following the ramblings of his adversary. A powerful and profound article on the same subject is that on "Dispensation" in the second volume.

An outbreak of the plague known as the "Stranger's Fever," and whose name sufficiently describes its character, gave him another labor from which he did not shrink. Day and night he was found in the most noisome quarters—for Charleston, though a small city, has some spots in it as bad as those of New York—carrying bodily and spiritual comfort to the sufferers. Numbers of orphans were left, whom the State very humanely provided for by the erection of an asylum. But this institution fell under sectarian control, and Bishop England determined, at whatever cost, to found a school in Charleston, where sectarianism was unknown, and where Catholic, Jew, or Protestant could receive a first-rate education. He was lavish of his slender means, introducing the best talent of Europe as teachers, and soon the school was crowded with the *elite* of the city and State. It flourished for seven years, collapsing in 1831. Men of every class and profession, generals, statesmen, judges, *litterateurs*, even clergymen of various sects, at this day gratefully acknowledge the impulse and the strange intellectual power which the great bishop engrafted on their minds at this school.

Another of his labors was the care of the poor, friendless slaves. He began to teach them, founding a school for the males under care of a priest, and a school for the females under care of the Sisters of Mercy. He was compelled to suspend the slave schools by the passage of a law making it criminal to teach a slave to read and write, but he continued the schools for emancipated blacks. So far as religion, the main thing after all, was concerned, his actions were not hampered by the slave owners, who soon came to recognize the important aids to virtue and fidelity which the teaching of the Church afforded. Averse to accept the strictness of the confessional themselves, they would have been unwise indeed not to encourage, as they did, its introduction among a race hitherto devoid of morality. Dearly did Bishop England love his poor slaves. He arranged separate services for them, saying Mass and preaching to them in person, and subordinating everything to this pious duty. Although in his writings he defended the institution of slavery as just under existing laws, he set forth with stern logic the duties and obligations of masters, and was in this far ahead of his age.

The schools of the above Sisters were intended for the lower orders. To reach the hearts of the wealthier classes, Bishop England, in 1834, procured a colony from the Ursuline Convent at Blackrock, near Cork, and planted it in the young diocese. The new project miscarried at first. Prejudice was so great that Protestants refused to send their daughters to this really excellent school, and Catholics were too poor to sustain it.

After lingering twenty years, the older members returned to the parent house, and Bishop Reynolds sent the others to Cincinnati. A dozen years more passed along before Bishop Lynch succeeded in recalling the latter from exile, and locating them at Valle Crucis, near Columbia. Their labors were here renewed under brighter auspices; up to the present day the school is celebrated all over the South as one of the very highest order. Protestants of the highest society prefer to send their daughters there. Thus Bishop England's work, though going wrong at first, has finally succeeded.

In 1835 he undertook the mission of Apostolic Delegate to San Domingo, where religion, since the violent separation from the mother country, had fallen into exceeding looseness. He was received by President Boyer with all becoming honors. He restored Catholic discipline, revived the spirit of faith, and ordained a colored man of great learning. On the whole, the wisdom with which he managed this delegate affair was among the greatest of his works, and his reports, preserved in the archives of Rome, are documents which will serve for future historians to build on.

During this mission, Rt. Rev. William Clancy was appointed Coadjutor Bishop, and he managed the affairs of the diocese for two years.

Amid all these labors, he traveled incessantly over his vast diocese, at great personal inconvenience; preaching in court houses, barns, or in the open fields; ministering on the bed of sickness, now on the bleak mountain side, now in the plague-stricken, sun-scorched streets of Charleston, often with his feet upon the wet ground, and otherwise suffering from scanty raiment which he had not the means to obtain, for the poor pittances he collected were dispensed to the poor or used in payment of refutations of foul calumnies inserted in the papers as advertisements.

Writing under these difficulties, he found it impossible to make his essays entirely accurate or extensive. Without proper revision, they were, under the necessities of the times, hastily given to the public, and in the present edition the editor has only made such emendations as were obviously required under the circumstances.

Bishop England crossed the ocean four times, visiting Rome, Vienna, and Paris in the interests of his poor diocese, and frequently journeyed to different parts of the Union.

He cherished two special devotions, without which a man may be great but never good—a fervent love of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, and a tender, childlike trust in the Blessed Virgin.

Yet this man, when the bloody hand of religious bigotry was raised

in the land, was the promptest to crush it. After appealing in vain to the civil authorities for protection from the mob, he called out the Irish volunteers of Charleston. Look out now, you Puritan mob; there is fight in front of you. Sleek officiality was alarmed. No more talk of burning down the churches and houses of Catholics. Peace must be preserved. And so passed off this episode, and South Carolina was saved from the ineffaceable disgrace which is stamped upon Massachusetts.

Bnt the time is coming when he would stand no longer foremost in the ranks of the Church militant. Voices were even now speaking to him, saying: "Thine eyes shall see the King in His glory; they shall behold the land that is very far off." That iron frame was broken at last. Along the rugged mountain side he had borne his cross to Calvary, and now he was to be crucified there.

After the Easter of 1841 he visited Europe for the last time. He paid his respects to the Holy Father. Returning the following autumn, he bade a final adieu to his sister, the Superioress of the Presentation Convent at Cork, his brother, Rev. Thomas England, the parish priest of Passage, and a large circle of Irish friends. Never did the love of old Ireland leave his heart.

The voyage was long and stormy, and when he landed in Philadelphia he was sick unto death. At the request of Bishop Kenrick, and concealing the malignant disease which was wasting him, he delivered a course of lectures and preached seventeen nights successively with his usual power and brilliance. Next he preached five sermons in Baltimore. He always held an annual retreat for his clergy in Charleston, and he had promised to be with them—never having been known to fail in keeping his apppointment. He did not appear. What was the matter? People began to grow uneasy.

He got home in December, all broken up. He insisted on preaching and took part in the Christmas ceremonies. That was the last. Soon afterwards he took to bed, and lay there suffering for three months. He saw the end, and fortified himself for it by frequent Communions. All temporal matters were calmly arranged.

A Solemn High Mass, was offered in the cathedral in his behalf April 10, 1842, after which the clergy were summoned to his side. He had been a friend to the Israelites when hands were lifted to strike them, and they now testified their gratitude by praying in the synagogue for his recovery. He received the Sacrament of Extreme Unction in a composed mood, saying, as he held the Crucifix before him and kissed it, "Sweet Jesus, who didst deign to die for me in this ignominious man-

ner, regard with compassion the condition of Thy servant, and be with him in the succeeding hour of trial." He spoke wise words of advice to the kneeling clergy around him for fully thirty minutes.

In the afternoon the seminarians, the dear children whom he was raising up to spread the light of the Gospel in this land, were called to his bedside. Let one of them, Father O'Connell, speak:

"He lay like a sick lion; all his strength was gone. The once manly frame was now a grand ruin from the ravages of sickness; nothin remained of his manly, noble form, admired by the gaze of millions, an never seen but in the gap of danger or in the van of battle, nothin remained but the quenchless lustre of the eye, through which the won derfully gifted soul still blazed forth in all the splendor of its native brightness. I saw him next, and for the last time, the following morning, April 11, 1842, at five o'clock, the hour when he rose to say his Mass during his life unfailingly. The agony of death was upon him; he had already received the Holy Unction; his episcopal robe and stole were on his neck, the ring gleamed from his white hand, outspread on the coverlid as if in the act of blessing. . . . . An audible distinct word was spoken, the last on earth of many—'mercy'—a whiteness was suddenly diffused over the face, which now shone like untrodden snow. After the priest had said, 'Depart, Christian soul, out of the world, in the name of God the Father, who created thee, in the name of God the Son, who redeemed thee, in the name of the Holy Ghost, who sanctified thee,' he added: 'Let us pray for the soul of the departed. Bishop England is dead.'"

"Consider, O Israel, for them that are dead, wounded in thy high places. The illustrious of Israel are slain upon thy mountains. How are the valiant fallen and the weapons of war perished! There was cast away the shield of the valiant as though he had not been anointed with oil. I grieve for thee; as a mother loveth her only son did I love thee."*

*Bishop Kenrick, of Philadelphia, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, celebrated the Mass of Requiem and pronounced the funeral sermon. Not only were a large number of distinguished Catholics present, but also many Protestants and Jews of the best families from all parts of the country.

MEMORIALS.

VESTRIES OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

On Monday, April 20, 1842, the vestries of the Church of St. Mary's Hasell street, and the Church of St. Patrick, on the Neck, were invited to join that of the cathedral, in the library of the seminary, to give expression to their feelings on their late bereavement. A committee of three from each of the vestries (to which the clergy of the respective churches were added) was appointed to report at an adjourned meeting to be held the next evening at the same hour and place, when the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted. The Very Rev. Administrator, being through illness unable to attend, he appointed the Rev. Doctor Lynch to preside on both occasions.

"PREAMBLE.—As time rolls on its troubled stream into the peaceful waters of eternity it occasionally happens to bear as its burden some being more valued, more beloved and more useful than those whom every day life presents to our view, whose loss leaves a void in the community which cannot be filled up, casts a gloom over those prospects which were brightened by his labors, takes from a fond and devoted people the object of their admiration, their respect, and their love, and leaves behind but the memory of his virtues, his piety and his usefulness. Too well and truly have we experienced this during the past week in the demise of our pious, learned and much beloved bishop—an event as unexpected as it is mournful, bringing sorrow and sadness to all who knew him in public and private life, and making desolate the hearts of his own affectionate children who from his lips were gladdened with the joyful tones of a Redeemer's promise, and by his hands were fed with that Bread which sustains man on his earthly journey. The child mourns the loss of a dear beloved parent, and the burning tear of sorrow starts to his eye at affection's call as he beholds his father's dust restored to its parent clay. The friend breathes forth the silent, sad sigh of affectio ate remembrance as he gazes on the cold remains of one united to him in the bonds of mutual attachment. But our father, our dearest father has left us; our friend, our best of friends has gone from the world of many trials; he in whom we centered all our confidence, on whom we depended for strength and

support, whose voice was ever ready at duty's call to be raised in the vindication of ourselves, our country and our religion, the pride of our hearts, the object of our love has gone, gone forever.

"Oh, bitter thought! Oh, sorrowful recollection! Three months ago, as the rich tide of his eloquence was poured forth in portraying the glories, the justice and mercy of God, calling man from the ways of sin, and holding before his view the pardon obtained by a Saviour's blood; who could form the opinion that at this day his remains would lie cold beneath his own episcopal chair; and the voice that so often edified and delighted thousands with the fascinating tones of its own peculiar melody, should be hushed forever in the silence of the mouldering tomb? But such is the lot of man, such the uncertainty of human speculaton.

"'Man proposes, but God alone disposes.'

"United with us in the sacred bonds of the Holy Catholic faith, endeared to us by years of the most indefatigable exertions to promote the spiritual welfare of ourselves and our children, and connected with us by all those social ties that link man to man, he has gone to the home of the blessed, there to reap the reward of his labors from the hands of that God whom he so faithfnlly served, whilst he leaves behind him on earth a name that will not be forgotten as long as virtue, piety and talents are respected and revered. As a Catholic, his faith was as strong as the rock of ages on which Christianity is founded; as a patriot, he was trained in the school of a Fitzgerald and an Emmet, where the fiery ordeal of persecution was the test of his sincerity; as a scholar, his mind was profound, his imagination fertile and productive, his acquirements various and extensive; and last, but not least, as a friend, he was one of those friends in need who are friends indeed. Never during his long and eventful career, whilst he defended his own, did he interfere with the religious opinions of others—the burden of his preaching, more fully developed in his actions—being 'Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.' How well then may we say that we all suffered on his demise: The community in losing one of its most virtuous, eminent and useful citizens; the social circle one of its greatest ornaments, whose racy wit charmed whilst it brightened all around; religion, one of its ablest defenders; and humanity one of its warmest supporters: the widow, her guardian and protector; the homeless orphan, its father and preserver. Difficult will be the task to find his like again. The funeral bell has tolled his requiem dirge, the Church has chanted her sublime but mournful *Libera* over his remains, the incense of the holy prayer for the repose of his soul has

ascended to the altar of the Deity—all now is silent, sad and still; but though his star has forever set, his memory will ever remain green in our souls, and though his spirit has fled from its tenement of clay, still will he live in our heart's best affections. But while we mourn for the dead, the illustrious dead, never can we be forgetful of those who differ from us in faith, but unite with us in charity—those whose souls are above the influence of prejudice, and who are ever ready to pay a deserved tribute to learning, piety and religion; and whilst we in conscience steadfastly adhere to the holy and venerable creed of Catholicity, we must fully appreciate the liberal conduct of our dissenting brethren, and the high respect shown by persons of all denominations to the memory of our deceased illustrious bishop: Therefore, be it resolved,

"1. That the altars of the three Catholic churches of this city and the Neck be hung for one month with some distinguishing badge of mourning, to testify publicly the sorrow and respect of their respective congregations for their much beloved and ever to be lamented bishop, whose untimely death is to them, in common with their Catholic brethren in the South, an irreparable loss.

"2. That as another mark of the grief and respect of the aforesaid congregations on this melancholy occasion, each member of them is hereby requested to wear for at least one month some badge of mourning; and that each member of the three vestries do wear a crape on his left arm for the same period of time.

"3. That we hereby tender our grateful thanks to the Right Rev. Dr. Kenrick, the distinguished administrator of the Diocese of Philadelphia, for his kindness in visiting us on this sorrowful occasion, and for the consolation he afforded us by his eloquent and heart-touching eulogy on the character and labors of our beloved and zealous bishop.

"4. That the thanks of the three Catholic congregations of the city and the Neck are due to and are hereby tendered to the dissenting clergy of the State, to his Honor the Mayor, the Judges of the Courts in session during our affliction, the Collector of the Port, and the citizens generally, for the respect paid and liberal feeling shown by them on the death of our highly gifted and much esteemed prelate.

"P. N. LYNCH, D.D., *Chairman.*

"A. LAFITTE, *Secretary.*"

WASHINGTON LIGHT INFANTRY OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.

At an extra meeting of the Washington Light Infantry, held on the 25th of April, 1842, the following resolutions were offered by S. A. Hurlbut:

"Although it may seem in some degree incongruous to mingle the name and the functions of a clergyman with those of a military body such as ours, yet in view of the close connection of feeling which united this company with the Rt. Rev. Bishop England, our deceased chaplain, and inasmuch as the services he has rendered us and the inscription of his name as an honorary member of this corps give us the right publicly to express those sentiments of respect and regard which we all, as individuals, feel for his memory. Be it, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That it is with no ordinary feelings of sorrow that the company thus publicly recognizes the loss from among its members of the Right Reverend Bishop England. The eloquent tones that have stirred our hearts as with the sound of a trumpet shall no more command and arrest our attention. The lips ever devoted to the advancement of virtue and religion are forever mute, frozen into silence by the icy hand of death. The earnest vindicator of the liberty of his native land, the devoted admirer and constant advocate of the institutions of this, his adopted country; the man of unimpeached and unimpeachable character, of intellect and acquirements wide and far-reaching, of imagination fervid and poetic—the priest of self-denying and self-sacrificing virtues, whom all men of every sect and faith delight to honor—the careful and sleepless watcher over the flock committed to his care—has finished his earthly course. The good soldier of the Cross, he was ever girt with his armor, and ready to defend from assault the truths he conscientiously believed, and how widely soever we may differ from his doctrine, we all admit that he fought the good fight, and performed the task that was set before him.

"To us he was endeared by the relation he bore to us, by the recollections of the eloquent address which he delivered before this company,[1] and by the readiness which he evinced to render us any service that circumstances might require. We presume not on this occa ion to analyze the character of this lamented prelate. No panegyric upon his virtues becomes this meeting. In life he courted not the applause of men, and his memory does not require their praise; for his eulogy is in the deep

[1] "*The Character of Washington*," vol 1.

grief of his friends, in the passionate mourning of the thousand hearts to whom he was the star of hope, the light upon their thorny path of life. His epitaph is written on the enduring affection of the widow and the orphan, the homeless and forlorn, whom, in life, he cherished and sustained. Their prayers are the incense around his tomb, their tears the libation over his ashes.

"*Be it further Resolved*, That in the death of our lamented and reverend chaplain this company has suffered a bereavement which deprives it of one of its brightest ornaments, and that as a mark of our sorrow for his death, and our respect for his virtues, the usual badge of mourning be worn for thirty days."

On motion of J. Bryan, Jr., it was resolved that the above resolutions be adopted.

D. McQUEEN, *Secretary*.

PHILADELPHIA REPEAL ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the association held at their room, 278 Market street, on Monday evening, April 18, 1842, Wm. A. Stokes, Esq., president, in the chair, Benjamin Pemberton Binns, Esq., offered the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Repeal Association of Philadelphia have heard with feelings of deep and solemn mourning and sorrow of the death of their venerable fellow member, the Right Reverend John England, Bishop of Charleston, in South Carolina. Attached to his person by his true nobility of nature, grateful for his generous devotion to the great cause of human liberty—they will hold in enduring remembrance his virtues for imitation, his genius for admiration, and his piety for example.

"*Resolved*, That in his death the country has lost one of her most valuable citizens, republican institutions have been deprived of one of their ablest champions, and the holy cause of Christianity has to lament a servant and advocate, whose entire zeal for the principles and interests of his own faith never caused him to violate the charity, which in a land of freedom protects all, but injures none."

The president, Mr. Stokes, having vacated the chair, which was taken by Mr. Benjamin P. Binns, proposed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the lamented Bishop England, the Association do now adjourn."

Mr. Stokes in offering this resolution remarked that it was under feelings of no ordinary emotion, for none who knew Bishop England could

fail to feel towards him an almost filial affection. He was one of those great men, the splendor of whose glories commanded the admiration of all; while the goodness of his heart and his amiability of manners made warm friends of all who were so fortunate as to enjoy his acquaintance. He was a remarkable example of one, who by the mere force of his native intellect, had caused his name to be known and revered throughout Europe and America; known and revered not only as a Christian prelate, firm in the faith which he held—but as an illustrious champion of human rights—as a powerful advocate in Europe for that system of government in America, which recognized in him a citizen most useful and constant, and as a scholar of rare attainments—a writer of singular purity—an orator and reasoner who had triumphed whenever his powers had been called into action. His own deeds were his best eulogium; his memory would, he trusted, be the virtual prolongation of a life valuable for the pure example which he set to all—an example which might live and which he hoped and believed would live in the breast of every repealer, exciting him to the practice of virtue, guarding him from the temptations of vice, and strengthening the resolution to persevere in that good work of repeal, the entire devotion to which was one of the brightest and best points of the character of Bishop England. Mr. Stokes spoke at length and with great effect of the character of Bishop England, and when he resumed his seat the association immediately adjourned, and in silence left their hall.

VESTRY OF SAVANNAH, GA.

At a meeting of the Vestry of the Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist, Savannah, held on the evening of Tuesday, May 3, 1842, Messrs. Dillon, Prendergast, and Condon were nominated a committee to draft a preamble and resolutions, expressive of the grief and sorrow which overwhelmed the congregation, at the irreparable loss of its ever dear and beloved bishop. The following were offered, and approved of by the pastor:

"How sad, how melancholy, and how difficult is the duty which we are called to perform, to give expression to our sorrow for the death of our beloved bishop, and to delineate his virtues, though it be but a mere attempt. Our grief is too deeply seated in our hearts; it is unalterable. His virtues are indescribable, who can delineate them? Our sorrow is founded on general and special principles. Christianity has lost an indomitable champion; *Catholicity its* most powerful advocate; the

Apostolic chain one of its brightest and purest links; the Militant Church a noble, brave, and valiant soldier; America, a defender of her rights, and the South a vindicator of her institutions.

"Our father and friend has departed from us—we are orphans; the fold is without a shepherd; the diocese without a bishop. The episcopal chair is vacant; the sable emblems show where the venerated tenant lies; the sanctuary is without its ornament; the widow mourns the loss of her support; the orphan weeps for him who gave him food. Oh! Father of the faithful and Supreme Pastor of souls, listen to the sighs of the bewildered virgins; behold the tears of the young men; listen to the sobs of the aged, and have regard to the heart-stricken throes of all thy people. In the accommodating and deferential sense which usage sanctions, has there ever been a people who may apply to itself with greater propriety, the lamentable words of the Prophet, than the flock of the Diocese of Charleston, in its present, melancholy bereavement:—Oh, all you that pass by the way, behold and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow, Blessed Redeemer of mankind! for the iniquities of the people have you been stricken—the sons of the fold have called for your death. Have our indifference, our neglect and apathy, in Thy service, provoked the blow just dealt to us? Have our sins incurred the heavy chastisement? We fear for ourselves—we tremble, and humbly bow down as culprits in Thy sight, and penitently sue for pardon. In sackcloth and ashes shall we endeavor to atone, and our future conduct shall be the evidence of the sincerity of our expressions. Spare, O Lord, spare Thy people, and give not Thy inheritance to reproach. If in anger Thou hast taken Thy servant from a sinful people, in clemency and compassion leave not Thy fold without a shepherd; send one according to Thy own heart, and worthy of him who was our first pastor. In testimony of our grief, and as an external manifestation of how sensibly we feel our irreparable loss, be it

"*Resolved*, That at the approaching Month's Mind, our church be suitably decorated, and as long afterward as our pastor shall deem necessary.

"*Resolved*, That the vestry and members generally be requested to wear the same badge of mourning for thirty days.

"J. F. O'NEILL, *Pastor*.

"JOHN MURPHY, *Secretary*."

YOUNG CATHOLICS' FRIEND SOCIETY OF BOSTON.

At the regular monthly meeting of the Young Catholics' Friend Society, Sunday, May 8, 1842, the following resolutions on the demise of Bishop England were unanimously adopted:

"To the name of Bishop England, haloed as it is with the glory of his sublime virtues and memorable deeds, we can offer no commmensurate tribute; but, being solicitous to attest our esteem for all that is pre-eminently beautiful, pure and grand in the human character, and our mingled veneration and regret for the splendid virtues and brilliant genius which have passed from amongst us to a more congenial sphere, it is therefore

"*Resolved*, That in the decease of this good prelate our Church has been deprived of a glorious light—the Catholic hierarchy of a divine, eloquent, pious and erudite; and Christendom of a luminary whose rays were confined to no sect, but beamed upon all, dispelling bigotry, and giving a universality to Catholic faith which will be honorable to his name.

"*Resolved*, That we proudly claim the illustrious dead as a native of that land which, though enslaved, is still glorious in her bondage; and that in his death Ireland has been deprived of a pure and fervid patriot, whose voice was ever ready to assert her claims to independence, as well as to uphold the glory of her religion.

"*Resolved*, That the testimony of Bishop England, when recently visiting this city, to the excellence and utility of this institution, is considered by us as attaching the highest honor to the name of Young Catholics' Friend, and that it will ever be the proud boast of the society that Bishop England gave it his warmest approbation.

"*Resolved*, That although he, esteemed and beloved by us, now slumbers in the cold and silent tomb, his genius, his virtues, and piety, shall live for ever in our affections, and be enshrined in our memories and hearts.

"PETER E. BLAKE, *President.*

"J. GERVASIO, *Secretary.*"

HIBERNIAN SOCIETY OF CHARLESTON, S. C.

According to public notice the Hibernian Society of Charleston convened at their hall on Monday evening, April 18, 1842, to pay the proper tribute of respect to the memory of their distinguished brother member, the Right Rev. Bishop England.

In the absence of Mr. Wm. A. Caldwell, the president of the society, Mr. Thomas Stephens, the vice-president, called the meeting to order. In a feeling and touching manner he introduced to the society the painful occasion which had called them together. He bestowed a rightly merited compliment on the many virtues of the deceased, and revived the recollection of many occasions where the cause of humanity and the most striking social qualities were happily illustrated in him whose loss had occasioned such general grief. After Mr. Stephens had concluded, A. G. Magrath, Esq., said he had been requested to prepare some expressions of the feelings of the society on the deep loss sustained in the death of Bishop England. He had undertaken the duty, because to him it was a pleasing task to pay respect to the memory of a man so good and so great. He then read to the society the following tribute to the memory of Bishop England:

"A mournful occasion has convened us! A chair is vacant in our hall! A voice that was loud in the admonitions of the Christian and the patriot has died away on the ear! A spirit that seemed the embodiment of kindness and charity—that hung around this hall with a zeal that enchanted while it instructed, has departed forever! The minister, whose religious devotion lent sanctity to his character, and influence to his councils; the member whose heart responded to the call for relief; and gave to wretchedness that sympathy more consoling than wealth; the patriot whose eloquence in the cause of a suffering country hailed the event of laying the corner-stone of our hall and baptized its completion in the same rich and feeling strain;[1] has been taken away from us forever and reposes in the calmness of death, in the sanctuary he so long dignified and supported. In our wide community, where all sects are zealous in the support of their peculiar tenets, there is now no feeling save that of deep sorrow. Controversies and disputes have been hushed into silence before this manifestation of divine omnipotence—and the Hebrew, whose heart was opened by a generous liberality—and the Protestants, who combated with him the doctrine of the Church—and the Catholic, who listened to him as the oracle of the living God, have alike crowded around the coffin which encloses his mortal remains, and offered the deep and touching tribute of tearful sorrow to his many virtues. While all, however, mingle their tribute of sympathy in the loss of that distinguished prelate, the Rt. Rev. Bishop England—to us, his death is a matter of peculiar bereavement.

[1] *Bishop England* was unanimously selected by the Hibernian Society to deliver the address at the laying of the corner-stone of the Hibernian Hall, and again at the first public opening after its completion.

"The descendant of those, who are able to number many of their name among the distinguished sons of the land of their birth, John England, at an early age, gave evidence of that power of mind and devotedness of purpose, which eventually developed themselves so eminently and successfully in the administration of the affairs of this diocese. At an early age, he became possessed of the influence of religion, and unheeding the enticements, which to one so gifted, might easily have been supposed potential in directing his attention to pursuits, where success in the eye of the world seems more gratifying than the quiet duties of the ministry, he yet gave to the Church the full energies of a young and daring spirit, a heart filled with the gentlest charities of life, and an intellect even then commanding the respect of those distinguished by age and station. At an early age he commenced the duties of his holy ministry, and his efforts were gifted with the most gratifying success. The attention of the Catholic Church being turned towards the Southern portion of the United States, the position and promises of usefulness already displayed by this distinguished man, recommended him to the appointing power. And, although he had not attained the age which the Church prescribes for the possession of the office for which his services were required, a dispensation was obtained;[1] and he was invested with the high and responsible position of bishop of a diocese composed of our own and two of our sister States. He came among us with many prejudices to surmount; many difficulties to overcome; much dissatisfaction to assuage. But the edge of prejudice was soon exchanged for confidence; the difficulties of his position yielded to his labor of love; and the discontent of all was exchanged for the harmony and fellowship which has bound the members of his Church in the strong bonds of confidence and affection.

"As the patriot—the lover of the land of his birth, no superior could be found to him whose loss we deplore. He was born where the iron hand of despotism ground to the dust the noblest of his race. He lived where he could see the scaffold reeking with the blood of those who prized the honor of their country more than they feared death. He suffered with those who, conscious of the then fruitless effort they were making, felt that religion of the patriot which makes him hug the chain in triumph he cannot break in the hall of the oppressor. In all his efforts connected with the cause of suffering Ireland, he gave full evidence of that high and dignified zeal—that fervid, because sincere eloquence, which recalled the scattering senses of the

[1] The writer has fallen into a slight mistake in this sentence. Bishop England was ordained priest at the age of 22, a dispensation of two years having been granted in consideration of his piety and learning. The canons of the Church require that no one be consecrated bishop, until he has completed his thirty-first year. Bishop England received episcopal consecration on the 21st of September, 1820, the thirty-fourth anniversary of his birthday.

THE

/ORKS OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

EPOCHS OF IRISH HISTORY.[1]

DOUBTED whether, on this occasion, it would be better ɔonfine myself to the topics naturally suggested by the ırrence of the day we celebrate, and discharge the duty ɔh you have imposed upon me by reciting the usual il of the life of the apostle of our nation, or to take a e enlarged view of what generally interests us, and ily sketch, for beneficial purposes, an imperfect outline ɔur history. Upon a little reflection, I have determined ıttempt both, giving preference, in order of time, to those ɜ which first existed, and introducing, at the proper ɔhs, to the notice which they must necessarily command, labors of St. Patrick, and from the entire, drawing a ng moral lesson, which they forcibly inculcate.

'he island from which we are sprung is but small upon surface of our globe, yet its history is that of many ıuries, and one which is more or less an object of interest ɔnd that of curious research to most other nations of world. This day you may find her children congregated their societies, upon the banks of the Savannah and of Ganges. This day they search for the Shamrock under ır snows, and amidst the sands of the equator. This

[1] *'bstance of an Address* delivered before the Hibernian Society of the City of ɔnh. *Georgia, March 17th, 1824.*

weak, chastened the daring, and excited the timid. Careless of the consequences so far as he was concerned, his voice echoed from the gatherings in his own land, and told the oppressor in a tone that could not be unheeded, the tale of tyranny and suffering that millions of his countrymen were compelled to undergo.

"As a citizen of the United States—the adopted son of our Republic—there never breathed one more fervent in his admiration of the institutions he had sworn to protect, more religious in his observance of the duties which devolved upon him as a citizen of a country whose laws knew no distinction of classes, whose soil cherished and supported alike all sects in religion. His intimate acquaintance with the excellencies which shine out in bold relief, amid the vices of the many models of republican government, made him at once the zealous advocate of a well regulated liberty —the antagonist of all lawless and revolutionary feeling. His long experience in all the intricacies of the human heart, taught him at once the possibility of man's government of himself, and the evil inseparable from boundless dominion, when power is concentrated in the hands of one; be it, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the Hibernian Society of Charleston have, in the death of the Right Rev. Bishop England, sustained the loss of a member and companion, whose eminent learning adorned the virtues of charity and benevolence; whose character gave dignity to his society, his country and his Church; whose name will be ever dear in the memory of those who love and admire the excellencies of our nature.

"*Resolved*, That in testimony of our profound respect, the members of the Hibernian Society will wear crape on the left arm for the space of thirty days."

After Mr. Magrath had concluded the reading of his tribute, on motion of the Hon. James S. Rhett, it was unanimously resolved that the same be adopted by this society.

On motion of Mr. Moreland, *Resolved*, That the Society do now adjourn in silence, and without comment.

The society then adjourned.

THOMAS STEPHENS,
Vice-President, Acting President.

W. N. HAMILTON, *Secretary.*

THE

WORKS OF BISHOP ENGLAND.

EPOCHS OF IRISH HISTORY.[1]

I DOUBTED whether, on this occasion, it would be better to confine myself to the topics naturally suggested by the recurrence of the day we celebrate, and discharge the duty which you have imposed upon me by reciting the usual detail of the life of the apostle of our nation, or to take a more enlarged view of what generally interests us, and hastily sketch, for beneficial purposes, an imperfect outline of our history. Upon a little reflection, I have determined to attempt both, giving preference, in order of time, to those facts which first existed, and introducing, at the proper epochs, to the notice which they must necessarily command, the labors of St. Patrick, and from the entire, drawing a strong moral lesson, which they forcibly inculcate.

The island from which we are sprung is but small upon the surface of our globe, yet its history is that of many centuries, and one which is more or less an object of interest beyond that of curious research to most other nations of the world. This day you may find her children congregated in their societies, upon the banks of the Savannah and of the Ganges. This day they search for the Shamrock under polar snows, and amidst the sands of the equator. This

[1] *Substance of an Address* delivered before the Hibernian Society of the City of *Savannah, Georgia, March 17th, 1824.*

day millions of voices are raised round the extended circumference, their shout and their song vibrate on the rays, to meet in their own verdant, glittering centre. They exhibit themselves decorated in the courts of the old world, deliberating in the assemblies of the new; they lift the standard of Bolivar, they pour out their ejaculation at the tomb of Washington.

Quæ regio in terris, nostri non plena laboris?

The civilization of our island is not that of yesterday. It is not by oppression that man becomes social, it is not by restraint and compulsion man becomes civilized. If our ancestors were polished, we can show the causes of the semi-barbarism of some of their descendants. The cause which we assign is amply sufficient for the effect which is found. But if our ancestors were more rude than their proscribed children, we cannot explain facts of which we have glaring evidence. Why, then, should we become fashionably inconsistent? Why should we be contradictorily polite? Consistency ought to be fashion; truth ought to be politeness. God forbid it should be otherwise in America! Allow the truth of our assertions, our whole history is consistent; that of which we have perfect evidence, supports that of which the evidence has been lost or mutilated. Deny the truth of that part which is thus supported, and that of which you have the most perfect certainty becomes inexplicable. When we call upon you, then, to believe these assertions, we do not substitute a theory for a history; but we present you with a series of facts differently testified, some having the evidence of history, the others possessing that strong moral evidence to which any reasonable being must give a willing and a ready assent.

We are asked for our documents. They whose interest lay in their destruction were stronger than we were; they became possessed of one portion by force; they were more subtle than an open-hearted people, too confiding, too unsuspicious; another portion was obtained; until the records of

our glory had nearly all insensibly disappeared; and when we spoke of the acts of our progenitors, we were sneered at as impostors by those who calculated upon their safety in the consciousness of their baseness. But though the parchment should be shrivelled to ashes in the flames; though the sceptre may be stricken from the monarch's hand; and the pointed crown be torn from his dishevelled head; though the assembly may be driven from the hall of deliberation, and the blazonings of heraldic precedence be mingled in confusion and trampled in the dust; though it may be criminal to preserve the name of your progenitors, and the great portion of the people should be compelled to take up surnames from trades and occupations, and in a language which was yet scarcely blending into form, and next to unintelligible; still, the memory of facts will outlive the destruction of their testimony, and the reasonable traditions of a nation will supply the place of writings.

If the settlers of our island did not arrive from Spain, whence did they come? Their traditions inform us of the fact. Upon what shall we found the contradiction? The individual who addresses you has examined, upon the spot, the traditions and the places, so far as any traces remain; and notwithstanding the ravages of time and the ravages of enemies, many do yet remain; those remnants of what were described as but remnants long since, admirably coincide with what might be naturally expected after the lapse of ages. The Irish peasant loves to remain near the spot which contains the ashes of his parents, and successive generations will be found renewing, where the laws did not operate to prevention, the names of their grandsires in the persons of their children; the traditionary songs, which have floated down the stream of time, give the exploits of the hero, and are found to proceed parallel to the stream of his blood. And on a coast of cliffs, and in a land of hills and valleys, topography is not so easily changed as on a coast of sand, and in plains liable *to inundation.*

The wreck of the history which has been preserved coin-

cides with the tradition, and the song, and the appearance. Shall we be cheated of the poor gratification of the history of our ancestors, because an active system has been persevered in, during successive administrations, to destroy our records? I again ask, what is to be set up in opposition to the little we adduce? If this was not their origin, whence did they come?

The remnants of our histories inform us, that our Gallician ancestors were a settlement made by an African colony, who had previously migrated from Tyre in Phœnicia, and who had, during a very long period, kept up an interchange of commerce. The histories of other nations which have been more fortunate in the preservation of their archives, leave no doubts as to the origin of Carthage; yet were but a very few records destroyed, before the art of printing, upon what grounds would the historian rest for his proof, save the song of the Roman poet? The migration from Carthage to Spain was easier than from Tyre to Carthage; perhaps the fact is also better sustained by proof. From the harbors in the northwest of Spain, even in those early days of naval science, the voyage to Ireland was not difficult, especially to the exploring descendants of the greatest commercial people then in the world. The facts are related by our historians, preserved in the traditions of our people; consistent with the documents of every age of our country, possible in their nature, by no means unlikely to have taken place; no other facts are offered as substitutes; some such facts are necessary; those have always been adduced. We are referred to the relics of our literature, to the documents which would substantiate them; we point out the fate of those documents which are known to have existed. I know not upon what ground our claim is to be rejected.

We have next the testimony as to a commerce of some continuance between those descendants of Milesius, the founder of the Irish settlement, and the Africans from whom *they were sprung.* We find, at different periods of time, *several swords* and other warlike weapons dug up in the

bogs of Ireland, unlike the arms of Northern Europe, unlike the Roman weapons, but of the same figure and the same metal and alloy, brazen, as those which fell from the dying warriors of Carthage at Cannæ. Golden crowns and collars were found in like manner, of similar manufacture, and of the same alloy with those of Africa and the East, and by no means corresponding with those of any neighboring people. The written records of a people may be given in tatters to the raging winds of every point of the compass, but monuments will still remain.

Rome never gave her deities to Ireland; but whilst that proud people dictated to a subject world, Ireland preserved even her idolatry unchanged. Her deities were of eastern origin, and her rites of worship were of Asiatic institution; not those of the Bramin, but those of the Phœnician. Baal was her chief deity, and he was worshipped with fire. We need not the sacred volume for the Asiatic facts and customs, they are too plain to be questioned. And which of us could not testify to the fires of May-eve in the island of our nativity? The custom still continues, though Christianity has purified the observance by stripping it of the criminality of the object. So interwoven with the fibres of his heart are the usages of his fathers to a child of Erin, that they are to be eradicated only with a dreadful pang, after it has been found absolutely necessary. Our earliest writers inform us that the fires of Baal, whose worship was always known amongst the Milesian settlers, were lighted with great solemnity on that day which now corresponds to May-eve. We have ourselves seen the fires, and passed through them with the sportive thoughtfulness of youth, to avoid some undefinable evil which we dreaded from spirits. We know that the month of May is still called, in the language which some of us have lisped in our childhood, *Beal thinne*, or the fire of Baal. How many other facts which our historians testify, which our eyes and our ears have known, are *totally inexplicable* without the mythology of *Phœnicia? They crowd* upon my mind; but I must not *etain you.*

Amongst the scraps of our history which remain, is the list of the monarchs; the mode of his death, the name of his successor, the length of his reign, are generally appended to each; and the period of time which this would occupy fills up about that space which brings us, counting back from the era of St. Patrick, to those times which witnessed the early dawn of civilization in Greece. Egypt is older than we are; yet, though we acknowledge her civilization, the progress of her arts, the extension of her commerce, we have little of the history of her monarchs, save the repetition of the name of Pharaoh.

From Phœnicia Egypt received her literature; from Phœnicia and from Egypt Greece drew hers. Our forefathers date the epoch of their migration from the East about the time when Cadmus brought letters into Crete. Egypt had her hieroglyphics, but they were not exported. The Grecian character is principally Phœnician.

When were those records of Irish monarchs produced? The first Christian missionaries found them in the country, and the voice of the country attested their having been always known as authentic public documents; and the princes or chiefs then in existence traced their pedigree back upon the list, and the title, by which they held their place and their possessions, was the accuracy of the register, which was kept under the eye of the nation.

The wandering tribe, or the lawless horde, may for the moment be placed under the guidance or the domination of some chief, whose prowess or barbarity might have led to his election or to his usurpation; but his authority expires at the utmost with himself, and his successor, if a successor he have, cares little to preserve the record of the man who swayed before him. But where civilization has introduced law, where society is regulated upon principles, and the governor is not to be elevated or depressed as caprice may dictate, the record will be kept, and the principle will be maintained, with at least some semblance of regularity; and *its existence will* be at once the evidence of time and the *evidence of civilization.*

The Irish had a written language, in which those records were kept; that language, however imperfectly preserved, exists still, and those characters are used to-day. We have been told, they are of Celtic origin; that they are the characters of the North of Europe; that they are Runic; that they were common to the Irish bard and to the Norwegian scald; that they are the same which England knew as her Saxon letter. The fact is not so. Make the comparison, and you will perceive a much stronger affinity between the Irish character and that of the early Greek. Without entering into the critical disquisition as to the gradual variations in Greece, before her letter and her language assumed their stable forms,—I do not hesitate to assert, that, with the exception of the letter corresponding to g, the similitude of our letter and the early single letters of the Cretans is most striking. Yet I do not deny a strong resemblance between even the Saxon and the Irish; but it is easily explained by facts which are obvious.

Phœnicia was the mother of letters; thence the Greek principally derived his; thence, at the same period, our progenitors brought theirs; thence, too, northward, towards the Tanais, and the Scythian hills and plains, men took their characters. Centuries elapsed, ere the hardy hunter of northern Asia directed his course to the west. Siberia, still shrouded in her untrodden snow, accumulated the frosts of ages. Nor Russ, nor Muscovite, as yet was known. Along the Don, the Volga, and the Ister, guided also by the setting sun, after other centuries had rolled away, the Asiatic swarms traversed a pathless forest and a mighty waste, and found themselves, some in Scandinavia, and some still farther south, where their descendants, under the name of Saxons, proudly held their sway. Their gods were not the gods of Erin; of Baal and his associates they had no knowledge; their fathers had substituted others in their stead. Ireland knew nothing of their Woden, of their Thor, nor of their Freya. Nor was their language *the same*; though the names had *been changed, the letters, in* which those names were written,

preserved a great affinity, for they were brought from the same school.

The similitude of the Irish to the early Grecian letter, together with the space of time occupied by the reigns of their monarchs, and the allowance for that time which was spent in the intermediate colonies, will coincide admirably with the account of our historians, that their progenitors were companions of the early Greeks, and that our country was settled by them about the era of the dawn of science upon Greece; and that our progenitors, having been descended from a people then highly civilized, and having brought with them letters, formed a regulated and civilized establishment immediately.

Ireland could not have procured the Saxon nor the Celtic nor the Runic characters before those characters were known. They were not known in Europe until after the period of Christianity. Ireland, upon her receiving this religion, had books written in her own character during ages, which books the first missionaries saw, and many of which regarding her mythology they destroyed; and when she received Roman literature, a curious circumstance, singular, too, I believe, presents itself to our view; her predilection for her own letters was such, that she wrote the Latin language in the Irish character. The individual, who has the honor of addressing you, speaks from what he has seen and known.

Our country had her law, the Brehon code and the customs of Tanistre. It has been said, that they who lived under those laws must have been barbarians, because the punishment of death was not enacted against the offender; his fine was in proportion to his offence; perhaps the laws of Draco, or of Great Britain, would have better suited the disposition of the objector; but it is a novelty at least worthy of notice, to find that a tenderness for human life is now the characteristic of a barbarous people. Greece had her Solon and her Lycurgus, Rome had her Numa, long before the epoch of Christianity; why shall Ireland be robbed of the legal beauty with which she was decorated by her Loghaire, [illegible]

Ollamh Fodhla, and so many others, at as early a period as that of either the Greek or the Roman? Are we also to be sneered at, because upon glaring evidence we believe that, besides the regular meetings of the provinces, under the several princes, for the regulation of their local concerns, the triennial Parliament or Congress of the whole at Tara, held under the monarch of the island, was the great legislature of the nation? Are then the records all fictions? Are their statements facts? If they be facts, are they not evidence of civilization? Do you find even a claim to similar documents, a notion of similar institutions, amongst the uncivilized children of nature? Do you find learning held in estimation? Do you find laws recorded? Do you find a regularly constructed and a written language amongst barbarians?

I am no advocate for chivalry; but the existence of an order of knighthood is at least a proof of some progress in civilization. To omit many others which are equally well known, the existence from a very early period of the knights of the Red Branch in Ulster, cannot be called into question. The annals of their order, the history of their exploits, the names of their heroes, the time, the place, the other circumstances, cannot all be baseless fabrics of the fancy, especially when we find history furnishing the facts with which those details are connected. The fable of Greece is the decoration of a fact. The magical metamorphosis of the Roman poet is but the sport of a fine fancy with a true substance. But in the accounts to which I allude facts are stated without decorations; persons are introduced who are known to have existed; and all the occurrences are such as require neither the power of the magician nor the performance of a miracle.

Nor shall I here enter upon a disquisition to ascertain, whether at the decline of the order of the *Ruddaire na craobh ruadh*, the members of that body established the Saxon association, which was the nucleus of the German Ritters, and one of the earliest exhibitions of chivalry upon the continent of Europe.

But there is one species of testimony peculiar to our

nation. Greece raised tumults upon the first preaching of the Christian doctrine; Rome persecuted the Apostles; Judea was necessarily inimical to the annihilation of her own power, and resented the imputation of having slain the Son of God: these nations were civilized. Rome and Judea persecuted; Greece was little more than tumultuous. The pride and corruption of Rome led to her criminality; the obstinacy, with which Judea continued under her mistake, caused her persecution. But amongst the barbarous nations to whom the founders of our religion preached the faith, they had generally to pay their lives as the forfeit of their zeal. In their stubborn soil the seed of the word was to be watered by the tears of the sower, and the germ was to be nurtured with his blood, ere the plant could flourish. All the histories of nations that have embraced our doctrines, testify to the fact upon which I found my assertion. Ireland, however, furnishes a solitary and splendid exception. The Roman proconsuls and prætors executed the orders of a Nero and of a Domitian, in Greece as well as in other parts of the world. India and Ethiopia, Bactria and Persia, were not behind the officers of the mighty fourth monarchy in their hatred to the name of Jesus and to the emblem of His cross. But in Ireland the soil was already prepared; the island of shamrocks bloomed in the verdure of cultivation; the venom of irreligious persecution was not found in her fields. Neither the pride of the cruel despot, nor the frenzy of the barbarian, was the characteristic of her king or of her people. And though our country had the twinkling of science to adorn her firmament, yet, like the other nations, she sat in darkness and in the shadow of death; but her mild mythology, as far as we can discover, caught some rays from the sun of justice, which it imperfectly and weakly reflected upon her children. The day-star beamed upon them, and with expectation their eyes were turned to the reddening east; perhaps the mists of their ocean served to reflect and to mellow the glories of the rising sun, and having been long accustomed to a little *light, they* were better prepared to endure and to examine

that brilliant orb which now mounted above their horizon in the effulgent majesty of truth.

Whatever might have been the cause, the fact is indisputable—Ireland did not slay her apostles; and when she was placed under the dominion of the Briton, her children were reproached with the imperfection of their calendar; they were accused of being an irreligious people, because no national martyrs were found amongst their saints. Oh, how prophetic was the answer! "That deficiency will soon be supplied, as the Pope has favored us with such excellent teachers."

New scenes now begin to present themselves. We come to the era of St. Patrick. I cannot say with precision what was the place of his birth. He is claimed as a child of Scotland; he is also claimed by Gaul. We cannot decide where we do not find sufficient evidence. His father's name was Calphurnius: from this it is probable he was of noble Roman extraction, for the wife of Julius Cæsar was of this family. His mother's name was Conchessa; she was niece to the celebrated St. Martin, the Bishop of Tours. This would render it likely that the claim of France is not unfounded; but the parents might have settled in North Britain. Their son Maun was born towards the close of the fourth century. At an early period of youth he was taken into Ireland as a captive, and was employed upon the mountains in charge of cattle. After a few years of heavy servitude, he regained his liberty; but was, soon afterwards, reduced to his former situation. In his wretched durance, he learned much patience, and found the mode of subjugating his passions. He was again released, and travelled into Gaul. Here he was for a considerable time a disciple of his relative, the Bishop of Tours; and he also imbibed much knowledge and piety at Auxerre, from the good and distinguished prelate of that see. After having embraced the ecclesiastical state, he travelled into Italy, and at length, in the year 432, he received episcopal consecration; was admitted into the patrician order, and appointed by Pope

Celestine, who then filled the apostolic chair, to the charge of that island in which he had been formerly a captive, and for whose spiritual welfare he felt an ardent zeal, and was anxious to devote himself to a life of toil and sufferings. Henceforth, he is known only by the name of Patrick.

Previous to his arrival, Christianity had made some little progress in the island. We have the accounts of St. Ailbe, founder of the see of Emly, which is now united to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel; of St. Ivar in the west, somewhere in the province of Connaught; of St. Declan, in the country of the Decies, in the vicinity of Waterford; and of St. Kieran, who founded the see of Ossory, in that place which was afterwards called and is still known as Kilkenny.

But upon the arrival of Patrick, a new impulse was given to the missionary force, and the true religion began widely to diffuse itself. Much opposition, of course, was made by many to the labors of the apostle; but he, well knowing that his doctrines were such as could bear to have their foundations closely examined, desired at once to lay them before the assembled wisdom, and judgment, and learning of the nation. He went to the Congress at Tara, and there openly preached a crucified God. The Druids and principal abettors of the Irish mythology disputed with him; but he was chiefly thwarted by the machinations, and intrigues, and open resistance of Niall, the son of the monarch, whose influence was very extensive. So that the apostle did not, at this time, reap all the fruit upon which he had calculated. Yet were many persons brought to a deep sense of the folly of idolatry, and the necessity of serving God, who is a Spirit, in spirit and in truth.

The only positive infliction, of which we have an account, is of one subsequent to this—an imprisonment of the saint and his companions in irons, during about fourteen days. Being released from durance, he went southwards, and converted the King of Munster and his family; then going up towards the northwest, he brought over the King of Connaught and his sons to the profession of the faith, and

carried on the mission in Ulster with extraordinary success. In a short time churches rose upon the ruins of idols. Monasteries of men and women were everywhere founded, and the religion of Christ in a few years predominated throughout the island. We have no record of so sudden, so perfect, so general a conversion of any other nation. The apostle of Ireland sees his flock now too large for his superintendence, and new bishoprics are created. His name is now held in esteem, and in that same assembly at Tara, where on a former occasion he was disappointed, he is covered with honors; he is admitted to his seat, he is ranked amongst their most learned men, and made one of the judges to preserve the purity of their historical records. The place formerly held by the teachers of idolatry is given to the apostle of the Lamb. Ireland adds the gem of Roman literature to the treasures which she had long possessed, and her clergy and her laity are emulous of each other in making progress in the new field of learning to which they have been introduced. Her ancient music resounds in the temple of the living God, and her virgins lift the melody of their voices to celebrate, in grateful notes, the triumph of redemption. O, land of my fathers! how beauteous were your hills, how lovely were your valleys, how pure were your streams, in that day before the eye of heaven! The hand of the spoiler did not desolate your fields; the foot of the stranger was not upon the necks of your children; the sword of the persecutor did not stain your temples with blood; the torch of the incendiary did not consume the retreats of devotion; the ruthless bigot had not as yet armed your sons for their mutual destruction; but the conviction of the understanding formed the basis of piety, and perfect charity exhibited the form of undefiled religion. The children of Ireland were in that day known to be disciples of our Lord Jesus, because they loved one another. The days of Patrick were prolonged, until, from his metropolitan eminence of Armagh, he beheld the land *flourish in* beauty, lovely in peace and *decorated with virtue.* About the year 496, he closed his

eyes upon this mortal scene, in which he had been so eminently useful, and was buried at Down. "O, let my soul die the death of the just, and let my last end be like unto theirs."

Ireland was destined ere long to be useful to the rest of Europe. Sarmatia soon began to pour her thousands upon the South. Roman degeneracy had permitted Roman freedom to be lost. But the polish of the Augustan age was still upon society. Barbarism, it is true, had in some instances defaced it. It was still fashionable to be learned; and though the play of the punster had been substituted for the graces of the scholar; and the tinsel of alliteration glared where wit had flashed and fancy sparkled; still, it was an age of knowledge, and the edge of the horizon glowed and the rich, full, mellow clouds retained much lustre, and exhibited brilliant tints as they caught and refracted the rays of departing luminaries. The fifth century of the Christian era was, in learning, like a fine evening within the tropics; the short interval which is given to enjoy a glorious view between a bright day of burning calm and a night of thunder.

Vandalic rage and Pannonian fury ravaged and desolated the West and the centre. Very quickly the Saracen swept the East, and Moslem infatuation tore from Africa what the Goth had spared. Shrouded in her thick mantle, murky Ignorance seemed to brood in stupid satisfaction over the widespread waste; and, save where the sacred monastery had collected within its massy walls the wrecks of ancient genius, her empire was generally established.

Ireland had been spared from this general deluge, and there, as in another ark, were preserved the means of re-establishing the civilized race of man. Our country had then acquired the title of *Insula Sanctorum*, from the piety of its people, and *Insula Doctorum*, from the learning of its sons. In the next age, then, we find her missionaries go forth to occupy prominent places in those regions which had been even before her in the faith. Italy places them in her *sees*, Switzerland acknowledges them as her apostles, Gaul

their labors, the Low Countries are the great scenes
successful exertions, many German churches acknowl-
ishmen to be their founders, and, in conjunction with
Ireland labors to enlighten Denmark, Sweden, and
; and Britain herself owes to Ireland much of her
n, much of her sanctity.

venerable Bede testifies what we find recorded in our
stories; but as it is fashionable to disbelieve all that
en written of Ireland, except by a calumniator of
ple, I quote nothing upon the authority of any
angers or enemies. Amongst them the testimony is
and uncontradicted, that in Ireland during those
ie schools were in the perfection of vigor and the
credit; that strangers from all parts of Europe
to them for information. So usual was this occur-
hat when a man of literary note was discovered to
en absent, it was immediately concluded, as a matter
se, that he was gone to Ireland. Nor was this
; for we are told that, not only were the lectures
gratuitously by the professors, but books were fur-
and sometimes even food and raiment provided, for
eign youth who crowded to the asylum which our
opened for the genius of Europe.

ngst others, the British youth were by no means
rd in availing themselves of the advantages thus
within their reach. This is testified by their own
ns. Armagh was one of the chief of those schools,
can well credit the statement, that it contained at
ie seven thousand students.

n the Britons had been subdued by the Saxons, and
xons assailed by the Danes, and the Danes again
l by the Saxons, the state of learning and civiliza-
England was low indeed. During a long period of
ie the island of our progenitors was still undisturbed,
e continent of Europe was laboring in the revival of

Our countrymen had founded the University of
and were teaching in many of the principal schools
ontinent.

Amongst others of the principal English who were educated in Ireland was Alfred, the father of English liberty. In our schools he was trained to letters; in Rome and in Ireland he imbibed his principles in legislation, and we may therefore fairly claim our share in the spirit of the British Constitution, which, though much injured, still is a fine remnant of what once was good; a system, the general principles of which are excellent, but the administration of which is corrupt; and from which was taken that theory upon which the American mind has so successfully employed itself, as to have developed its benefits, lopped off its excrescences, and exhibited, in a degree of comparative perfection, a system whose origin we are proud to trace to spots with which our apostle was so intimately connected.

Ireland, during those ages, not only preserved the religion and learning of her own children, but also from her stock communicated much to what then became the civilized world.

Our country was not, however, destined to continue in that eminent station which she had so long held. Her shores had never been subject to the Roman. But another nation, apparently more despicable, but really more formidable, began to issue from the Baltic. Normans occupied the coast of France. Danes drove the Saxons from their settlements in England. Their objects at first were only plunder and devastation; they next took up positions on the coast, and then aimed at possessing the dominion of the country. The head of the venomous destroyer was frequently lopped off; but the fens of Lerna never nurtured a more multiplying antagonist than the defeated and yet conquering barbarian of the North. He sat down in France, he occupied England, he assailed Ireland. Often repulsed, he yet returned, and at length had considerable possessions and extensive sway in our country. Our national monarchs, however, continued to rule. It is not my province to dwell upon their deeds of arms, nor is it in my power, without unreasonably encroaching upon your time, to allude even to those facts which shine so *brightly emblazoned* upon our scroll of history. I shall touch

for a moment, however, upon two, which are the first that catch my eye.

Successful in more than fifty pitched battles against the destroyers of his country, the enemies of his religion, the giants of rapine, of lust, and of cruelty, see the aged king of Ireland heading his troops on the memorable plains of Clontarf. With their collected forces, urged to obstinacy by despair, and wrathful in the fury of their pride and the disappointment of their ambition, the Scandinavian chiefs prepare their lines for the encounter. Sitric closes his ranks, inspires hope, points out rewards, promises possessions, exhorts to revenge, shows the plume of the victor's glory within the grasp of his troops, lifts his banner, sounds his trumpet, and shouts defiance.

The Momonian kerns steadily advance — the Connaught galloglasses briskly charge the invaders; it is indeed a day of blood and of carnage; but the pride of the Dane has been smitten; and though patriotism and virtue must rejoice at the issue, still they will permit humanity to weep over the bloody field.

It was on Good Friday—the anniversary of the Christian atonement. The venerable Brian Borhoime thus addressed the heir of his crown: "My son, I leave victory in your hands. Secure the independence of your country, and preserve its honor. But, whilst flushed with success, do not permit unnecessary destruction; save the vanquished, and restrain the spirit of revenge. A God of mercy has been our protector. He who bled on Calvary has shed the lustre of glory on our harp. Frequently have His mercies been extended to us since the blessed Patrick first published His name in Tara; but never, my son, has He been more bountiful than on this occasion, on the anniversary of that day when, by His own blood, He took away sin from His people, He has enabled us to wash away pollution from our shores with the blood of the oppressors of our country. I go, my son, in the *name* of my people, to return thanks for *His benefits. I go alone* and unarmed, to the foot of that

cross which I have erected in my tent, there to pour out my soul in gratitude, and to discharge those great duties of religion which the solemnity of the day requires, and which the calculating but mistaken enemy of our religion compelled us to defer. To you, my son, I leave my army, my blessing, and my instruction to remember mercy in the day of triumph; remember the glories of our forefathers, remember the injunctions of our God."

Whilst we venerate the union of martial prowess and Christian devotion in the monarch of Munster, shall we be accused of introducing fiction instead of history, when we weep over the immolation of the grayheaded warrior, at the foot of that same cross, by three fugitive assassins of the vanquished host? And though they fell under the swords of his family, who arrived in sufficient time for their punishment, though not for his safety, shall we be sneered at, if, after the lapse of eight centuries, our tear of sorrow testifies our lasting affection, and our prayer for his rest be sent up to our great Redeemer, as a supplement to the chanting of the Requiem upon the plains of Kilmainham and in the Abbey of Swords?

Whilst the self-devotion of a Curtius occupies the thoughts and claims the admiration of the reader of Roman history, shall the heroes of Ireland be forgotten? Much indeed which sober reflection would censure, and the dispassionate judge must condemn, will be permitted to him who warmly feels, and is forced by circumstances to decide and to act under the influence of enthusiasm. Yet how irrational and unmeaning is the act of Curtius, when compared with the conduct of *Failve Loingseach*, the commander of the Irish fleet, who opposed the Danish navy? Long, and bloody, and obstinate was the fight, and doubtful was the issue, when the tug of war appeared ready to snap the strength of either force. Failve saw, and remarked to those who surrounded him, that almost the entire valor, and energy, and perseverance of his opponents was owing to the judicious bravery of their commander, and that, if he were removed, the Irish navy would

ave an easy triumph. In an instant the leading vessels are de by side; grasping his opponent in his arms, the Irish ieftain leaps into the ocean, and like the encounter of the ny monarchs of the deep was the combat of the champions, ll, clasped in the embraces of each other and of death, they nk for ever; and the strings of the harp gave the note of mentation upon the breeze which flouted the green flag in e imperfect triumph of its joyless victory. But why should dwell upon these themes? It is true that

> "The sun has grown old, since Clontarf's bloody wave,
> Saw them sleep the sweet sleep of the patriot brave."

It is true, that nations, which were not then even in nbryo, now rise and rule the destinies of the world. But e do not like to be cheated out of our recollections. It is ue, that tongues, which then were the rough and discordant mbination of dissonant jargons, have since been made nooth by use; but still we love the sound of our fathers' oices, even though that sound should be, as it is, but the perfect, imitative echo which can be gathered from the ins of the tomb, and which issues from mouths that have en filled with the dust of ages. These, it is true, are t delusive comforts; but how many of our comforts are lusions! And if the delusion be innocent, why shall we ave our eyes opened to a painful, to a remediless reality?

Yes, the days of Ireland's glory have passed away, the och of her misery commences. The barbarians, who had en thus expelled, had plucked away the foundations of tional prosperity; they had been driven from the land, but t before they had crushed religion, destroyed morality, and rn asunder the bonds of union which held the monarchs gether. After fever had raged and the crisis had taken lace, life still continued, health was established, but the nstitution was dreadfully reduced. The restoration of hurch government was commenced and considerable progress as making under St. Laurence O'Toole in Dublin and St. alachy in Armagh; but the profligacy against the Prince

of Breffiny led to disunion, and a handful of English adventurers aiding the disaffected and recreant convict, in the jealousy of the people, and the quarrels of the princes, that edifice of national prosperity which the Danes had undermined, fell amidst the struggles of its inmates and the trifling assault of a few strangers.

Oh, let it be to you a lesson of caution. May the sad fate of my country create in you vigilance to detect, and firmness to restrain, those ambitious and immoral individuals who would divide a people, that they may build up their own fortunes with the fragments of national union.

I do not wish, my friends, to excite in you, nor to revive in myself, those feelings of pain and indignation which the subsequent history of Ireland is but too well calculated to create. The Danes commenced the destruction of its records and the system of its disorganization. Other more successful and more persevering enemies were now their successors. It was asked by a poet subsequently to this epoch, *Cur lyra percussa, funestas edidit sonores?* And it was well answered, that the sound of the national music should be that of mournful melody, because, in the day of her disaster, her liberties were cloven down, her children were devoted to slavery, she was seated in the dust, her glory was tarnished, her face bedewed with tears, the testimonies of her greatness were torn away and destroyed, she was sprinkled with obloquy, even sucklings were brought to laugh at her wo and to mock at her affliction. A proud neighbor, who had plundered her of her jewels, flung the garb of folly on her shoulders and pointed her out to the derision of the world. How could her harp be tuned to mirth and revelry? Well might her children answer as did God's chosen people of old: "Upon the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and we wept, when we remembered Sion. Upon the willows in the midst thereof we hung up our harps; because there they who led us captive asked us for the words of our songs, and they who led us away said, Sing to us a hymn of the *canticles of Sion.* How shall we sing the song of the Lord

in a strange land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand be forgotten: may my tongue cleave to my jaws if I do not remember thee—if I do not place Jerusalem as the beginning of my joy." Yes, my friends, human nature is the same in every age and throughout the world. The Israelite in Babylon, and the Irishman in his own land of streams, equally felt the hand of the oppressor. I shall not continue. But, how could the music of my country not be mournful melody?

I shall not dwell upon the misrepresentations of hired traducers which have been substituted for our history. I shall not remind you of the horrible falsehoods which have been deliberately given to the world by the enemies of our fathers. I shall not tell of the legalized plunder, of the persecution of centuries, by which it was sought to change the religion of a nation, and by which the rights of conscience were destroyed by those who proclaimed themselves to the world as the only supporters of those rights. We, my friends, differ very much in our religious doctrines, yet we live in the harmony of affection, each respecting the rights of his friend, and claiming for himself what he concedes to his brother. We can weep over the crimes of those who have ruined our country, and we can learn wisdom from the exhibition of their havoc, and better appreciate the blessings of which we are here made partakers.

To one fact only will I briefly advert, and it stands unparalleled, as far as I can perceive, in the records of of public perfidy. Who does not anticipate the recital of the breach of faith by William and Mary? After many struggles in our unfortunate country, when all the prospects for the hunted Catholics of Ireland were confined to whatever opening the force of their army could make, and when that army, after some of the vicissitudes of war, bravely defended the citadel of Limerick, and when the prudent Ginkle saw that the issue was not so certain as the sanguine *advocates of his* party had promised, he agreed *upon terms of capitulation,* which were confirmed by the

person then called to fill the British throne, and by his queen. By this agreement the Catholic garrisons were delivered up, the army was disbanded, and William was acknowledged as their lawful king, but he in return was to leave them unmolested upon the score of religion, and to confirm in the possession of their estates those who had not been previously plundered on account of their faith, under the pretext of rebellion.

A generous people, under the impression that the royal word was sacred and the national guarantee of a public treaty was inviolable, gave up their posts, laid down their arms, and prepared to worship God, and to cultivate their lands; when a British parliament pretended that the king had exceeded his powers, and persecuted and worried the defenceless and betrayed people who mistook its character; and yet this parliament modestly charged its deluded victims with holding as a principle that *no faith was to be kept with heretics!* Dark and more dark are the tints in which the times must be painted. Let us not too closely view the picture. Oh, well do I recollect the relations of my aged countrymen, when, seated on their knees, I listened to the tales of their sufferings, and the reality of the evils which they endured from the men who claimed pre-eminence in civilized society, exceeded the descriptions of romance. The highly colored tints of the poet, who writes to make his readers weep, are light and vapid when contrasted with the glowing streaks of oppression which may be traced on the humbled children of Ireland. How often have I wept at the escapes and the endurance of my grandsires! Their lot was humble, because they professed the religion of their progenitors. Never, never whilst memory holds her seat shall I forget the story of the woes of my father, which with tears he related to me to prove my comparative happiness; for he narrowly escaped the fate of a felon, because, without changing his religion, he dared to explore the *vestibule* of science;[1] and yet the people of Ireland

[1] Vide MEMOIR.

are accused of being ignorant! Oh, my friends, what is that policy which barbarizes, and then reproaches you with barbarism? It is true that, in comparison with my progenitors of a few centuries, my trials have been nothing.—But, thank God, I at length breathe the air of a freeman, and no one reproaches me with the causes of my glory—that I am sprung from a country which was civilized before others were discovered; that my religion is coeval with Christianity, coextensive with civilization.

How many of her sons did this desolate mother send out to signalize themselves upon the continent of Europe during this lengthened persecution. How much literature did she preserve in her bogs, on her mountains, and in her morasses, notwithstanding the laws which were enacted against learning, unless at the sacrifice of the creed of her people. Thus was she glorious even in the day of her dejection.

But a moment is found for the mind to rest without torture in the examination. Let us, however, keep to our object, and before we come to that moment, let us draw the conclusions, and establish our moral. *O, ter quaterque beati,* may we pronounce the sons of America—not for having fallen under their walls without having witnessed the ruin of their country—but for enjoying all the blessings of freedom without having tasted the bitterness of slavery, and without having experienced the afflictions of persecution. *O, nimium felices si sua bona norint.* They do not value the mighty benefits, the want of which they have never experienced. Let them see an island rich in soil and blooming in culture, yet a prey to every species of tyranny and despotism, filled with crime and a charnel-house from the executioner; these are the lamentable consequences of sectional and sectarian broils; the force of her people is broken, their energies are paralyzed, and they are the prey of a despicable oligarchy, because they permit themselves to be foolishly excited and wickedly played off against each other. Oh, tell it to your children and to your children's children, and let them transmit the moral to your latest

descendants. My country has been ruined because her people were parcelled into parties, and the parties were like the offspring of the dragon's teeth, armed for mutual destruction. The balmy air of charity surrounds and invigorates us here. Oh, may it never be tainted!

But this folly could not last forever, and the human mind, left to itself, would soon trace the causes, and the human heart, unbiassed, would yearn for their removal. The progress of nature must be the same in Ireland as elsewhere, and men of understanding and of honesty saw the causes and were anxious to remove them. The Presbyterians of the North, in the latter part of the last century, cherished in their bosoms the flame of patriotism and the glow of humanity. Ulster nobly showed that Ireland, uninfluenced by external causes, would still rise to her proper place, and never did a more cheering light break in upon a benighted people than that which those brave men then created. Many distinguished members of the Established Church also, as far as the private exertions of individuals could redeem the character of a body, did try to aid their afflicted Catholic countrymen, and thus rescue themselves from that obloquy which the conduct of the united Church and State had flung upon the British nation.

A host of intellect was marshalled under the banner of national feeling. Never till then was such a galaxy of genius exhibited in so small a portion of the firmament. Never before did so many brilliant stars glow so conspicuously distinguishable amidst such a flood of light. The place of a standing army was supplied by the patriotic volunteers of Ireland. Dungannon seemed to be the fountain whence salutary and refreshing streams of pure principle were to flow through the land and to give health to the nation. The mighty mass began to move, and that which had become putrescent from stagnation was becoming purified as it was agitated; the impulse was communicated to the very citadel of corruption, and even what was called the Irish parliament was forced for once to speak the voice of the Irish

tion. It was too soon, however, to detect the falsehoods nich had so long been circulated as history; there was ither time nor inclination as yet to examine into the lumnies which had been sedulously propagated against e creed and the principles of the Roman Catholics; but ough they were by many good but deceived men thought be unfit for liberty and undeserving of kindness, still, en common humanity shrunk back from the glimpse of eir degradation and afflictions, and men who had during e greater portion of two centuries been treated with the ost unparalleled barbarity, were almost goaded into bar- rism. No wonder that the good men who were inclined acts of kindness should almost believe the fictitious rocities of former times to have been facts, when they met ith suspicion and reserve where they sought for confidence at they might be beneficent; when they observed that the nd which they unbound sometimes grasped a weapon of fence. Nor can it be to us a matter of surprise that a ing who has been frequently deceived to his serious injury persons of a particular class, should be cautious of con- ling in any individual of that body, how pure soever may his motive for seeking reliance, and how beneficent soever ay be his intention, and however fair may be the appear- ces. Neither can we be astonished that he, who has been rely distressed, and is still under mitigated persecution, ould sometimes seek to retaliate even upon a man who, ough less cruel than his predecessor, is yet unjust. Thus, e very natural conduct of men, who had been almost utalized by oppression, too often leads the unreflecting to lieve that they must have been originally barbarians. And who would justify the oppression will very naturally seize on so plausible a pretext for its justification, and will rge testimony to prove the pretended necessity of the iginal crime. The mind is carried away in the vortex of me passion, in the midst of those scenes. It is next to possible but to belong to a party. But here you are fitted *calm and rational investigation.* Here is to be found an

inquiring mind, a patience of research, a solicitude for knowledge; and, although hitherto America has been generally deceived in its taking the history of our country from the writings of its enemies, still I cherish the hope, and I feel pleased in the anticipation, that the people of this Union will be the first to do justice to the land of my fathers; for there certainly does exist, if I be not greatly deceived, a strong sympathy between the land of my birth and the land of my adoption, and never was mind better fitted for dispassionate research after truth, than that which I meet with every day.

But to leave this digression. In 1782 Ireland almost became a nation. There, unfortunately, the interest of the people was not that of the government, and we observe the consequence. The volunteers are separated; some of the leading talent is purchased. A new scene, however, comes under our observation. The Synod of Ulster is pure; never in a body was there found more true patriotism than in the body of the Presbyterian clergy of Ireland of that day. Possessing the confidence of their flocks, and standing aloof from the Castle of Dublin and its contaminating influence, they were feared and respected; they loved the country, they took pity upon the oppressed Catholic, they were joined by many of the best, and bravest, and most virtuous lay-members of the Established Church, they gave the right hand of fellowship to the Catholic, and they formed a brotherhood of Irishmen of all religious persuasions. These United Irishmen intended to have done their country service. The Hon. Robert Stuart, subsequently better known as Lord Castlereagh, was their first chairman. This holy alliance should be broken up, or the people of Ireland must be no longer oppressed. Their objects were simple, and substantial, and just, and constitutional — to obtain a fair representation of the people in the House of Commons, and to put an end to persecution on the score of religion. The attainment of these objects would have healed the evils of *the country,* but would not have suited the views of the

igarchy which had long been the bane of the kingdom. he Presbyterians were told that, as being Protestants, they ould receive some aid towards the support of their clergy, id the *regium donum* by which the ministers were made pendent upon the bounty of the crown instead of the nevolence of the people, broke down their fine spirit of triotic independence, and made them an appendage of the ritish throne—a body that must be obsequious to the ecutive, or be in indigence. The Catholic aristocracy, consting of some peers and baronets, and a few of the old roprietors, who almost miraculously had preserved, through thousand perils, some remnants of their estates, were asily brought over, the principal bishops were cajoled, nd flattered, and deceived, and the elective franchise and a ew other benefits were conferred upon the Catholics, and he torch of religious discussion was lit up amongst the eople that they might be divided and governed; and the ame Lord Castlereagh was, on the part of the government, he man who principally regulated this destruction. Thus, gain, by sectarian hatred were the hopes of the nation estroyed. I confine myself to this moral. This is enough. Here we have religious differences; but here we freely liscuss religious topics in language respectful to the feelings f each other; here each follows the conviction of his own nind, and is accountable only at the tribunal of that God who will judge us all, and to whom only we stand or fall, nd He alone can clearly decide who is obstinately or careessly wrong, and who is innocently and invincibly ignorant f His truth, and His justice requires the condemnation of he former, but His mercy protects the latter. Whilst we edulously inquire, and freely discuss, we must leave to Him His exclusive prerogative, that of deciding upon the merit nd the fate of individuals. He who, positively certain of is adhesion to truth, would call down fire from heaven pon unbelieving cities or obstinate individuals, knows not y what spirit he is led. It is the pride of human passion, *nd not the ardor of religious* zeal. Persecution makes hypo-

crites; to hate a person even for infidelity is a crime against charity, and to grasp the sword to punish for unbelief is to usurp the seat of the judging Son of Man. I do not know of any other to whom that commission has been given. No person who wants charity will enter heaven, and to usurp the exclusive office of the Redeemer is not the best ground on which a claim of salvation can rest. I possess evidence of truth, but I cannot, without being able to inspect the mind of him who differs from me, possess evidence that he knows himself to be in opposition to truth. Free discussion and difference of doctrine are perfectly compatible with affection and charity. But hatred, and religious discord, and persecution have destroyed many nations and ruined many souls. Let us learn wisdom from the misfortunes of my country.

One little remnant yet is to be found of what approaches to independence. It is like the solitary column which lifts its capital in the midst of the ruins of what was once a splendid temple. You may judge of what the entire had been, by inspecting the proportions and the workmanship of this relic, and surveying the extent of the fragments by which it is surrounded. When all was perfect, the parts gave mutual support, and the edifice combined strength and beauty. Now, this unprotected piece is blown upon by every wind and must bear the brunt of every storm, and, indeed, it must have been originally well constructed to survive in its isolated grandeur. Do not blame me when I tell you, I feel proud at saying, this is the body of the Catholic clergy of Ireland.

These men have always shared the afflictions of the people in a twofold proportion. From the Archbishop of Armagh, who numbers his predecessors up to St. Patrick, to the youngest priest with whom I was associated, I speak what I know, when I assert that they were enlightened, liberal, and virtuous, and that, although they felt it to be their duty to preserve the peace of the land, and to soothe the *irritation of the* people, they also felt deeply for the wrongs

their country. They withstood the insult of mockery, the perciliousness of privileged petulance, the rude ignorance a saucy squirearchy, the allurements of those who proffered ribes, and the threats of those who were in power. Once, nd once only, was the apostolic simplicity of a portion of ie bishops almost overreached by the wiles of the destroyer f his country. Lord Castlereagh offered to relieve the eople from the burden of supporting their clergy, and equested to know whether in return the government could btain security that none but loyal men should be promoted bishoprics, so that, through the superintendence of such ien as might be safely relied upon, the loyalty of the whole lerical body might be confirmed. The four archbishops and ix bishops, who were trustees of the college which had then een just established, were thus led to say that they considered the proposition one which was reasonable and which ught to be acceded to. Unused to the chicane of politicians, r to the duplicity of courtiers, they judged of the honesty f others by the standard of their own unsuspecting integrity, nd the wily statesman, having obtained their assent to a rinciple of concession, suffered the whole transaction to lie s if unobserved and forgotten, until in due time, upon the ressure of the petitions of the people for their rights, a int was given that, if this principle was carried into ractice, and the king allowed a negative upon the appointnent of bishops, some little new indulgence would be ranted, and if a secretary of state was made the organ of ommunication between the bishops and the Pope, perhaps little more might be added. The bishops, the priests, nd the people, horrified at the proposal, exclaimed with ne voice against the mischief which they now saw impendng. The former concession of the principle was pleaded, ut the good men protested that they had been deceived. Thus was the country agitated by the question of the *eto and the arrangements*, and the people again embroiled pon a question of *religion*, that they might be divided *nd oppressed.*

Well do I remember the history of this contest, for though my place was insignificant, I had my post in the field, and it was on the side of the people. The clergy joined their bishops in declaring that they would subsist upon the voluntary donations of their flocks, rather than be enriched to the manifest danger of the purity of their religion, and with the jealousy of the people. The people exclaimed: "You may regulate religious concerns as you will, that is the province of the bishops; but the instant you accept a pension from the government you forfeit our confidence, for you become the slaves of the crown, spies upon your flocks. Look to Ulster; see what the *regium donum* has done. We have but a small remnant of the liberties of our country, you are as yet uncontaminated; every body which the government has come in contact of friendship with has been polluted; touch it and we separate from you. We are jealous of your virtue, we love what has been left of our freedom." This was their language; this is called *agitation*. As yet, thank God, this clergy and this people have withstood the storm. But this relic of the national fabric is daily assailed. May God protect and preserve it; for it yet shows in a pious and patriotic priesthood what Ireland might have been. May God long preserve the liberties of America from any union of any Church with any State! In any country, with any religion, it is an unnatural increase of the power of the executive against the liberties of the people.

No wonder that from a country like this the emigrant should arrive upon your shores, with his feelings sore and his passions excited and burning with recollections. He loves to remain near those spots which his fathers have inhabited during centuries, spots which are blended with the reminiscences of childhood, with the joys of his youth; those spots upon which his friends are still found. Oh! he loves his country and his friends, but he cannot endure to be scourged with scorpions by strangers who have been placed as his taskmasters; and he cannot banish all his recollections

n amidst the endearing attachments which he makes in a d of freemen.

t will then be permitted to us this day to enjoy the lancholy gratification of contemplating the former greatness our country, and going back in spirit and affection to the d of our fathers, to the island of shamrocks, to the erald gem of the ocean, for

'Though glory be gone, and though hope fade away,
Yet thy name, loved Erin, shall live in our songs;
Not even in the hour when this heart is most gay,
Shall it lose the remembrance of thee and thy wrongs.

The stranger shall hear us lament on his plains,
The sigh of our harp shall be sent o'er the deep,
Till thy masters themselves, as they rivet thy chains,
Shall pause at the song of their captive and weep.

THE PLEASURES OF THE SCHOLAR.[1]

It is related that St. John the Evangelist was once observed by a hunter, amusing himself with a bird. The astonishment manifested in the countenance of the observer, who remained gazing intently, was soon noticed by the apostle, and he inquired for its cause. "I am struck with amazement," replied the hunter, "to see you, who are so much esteemed for wisdom and sanctity, employed in so trivial an occupation! How unlike is your present position to that which you are generally supposed to hold?" The saint remarked that his observer's bowstring was loose, and inquired why he did not keep it tight. "Were I to do so," said the hunter, "my bow would loose its elasticity, and soon become useless." "The human mind," observed the evangelist, "is like your instrument; it would be destroyed by perpetual tension." Whatever position, then, it may be your lot to occupy in the employments of the world, you will need to apply the energies of your mind to the proper discharge of its duties. The grave study of the law, the deep reflections of medical science, the absorbing cares of political life, the intense application to business, the deep interest of your family concerns, your sympathy for friends, and a thousand other importunate demands will draw largely upon your time and upon your feelings, and will compel exertion;—but you will also feel the necessity of relaxation. So that, in fact, its regulation is one of the most important concerns of life; and the neglect of its arrangement is preg-

[1] An address delivered before the Demosthenian and Phi Kappa Societies of Franklin College, Athens, Georgia, August 5, 1840.

nant with the most dangerous consequences to youth and to manhood.

Some persons, at an early age, under pretext of relaxation, contract habits which become in after life the sources of their ruin. It is one of the misfortunes of our nature, that they who have been the victims of crime are almost necessarily thereafter its abettors, and this not merely upon the well-observed principle which spreads its influence over every age and every nation, *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris;* there is not only a malicious satisfaction in knowing and exhibiting that we are not without associates in our degradation and our depravity; but they who have exhausted their own springs of indulgence in dissipation, feel it necessary to have companions who yet possess a supply that will suffice for both. At a time, then, when experience has not brought caution, when passion is strong, when the desire of novelty is great, when, under the alluring names of liberty and independence, wholesome restraints are easily laid aside, and the buoyant spirit of youth loves indulgence, cunning self-interest frequently bestows the name of necessary recreation upon those pursuits which degrade and destroy, and thus seduces the generous and the inexperienced into habits which are easily formed, but which it requires time, labor, and perseverance to overcome. This is one of the most copious sources of intoxication, of licentiousness, of idleness, and of dissipation; by these the peace, the honor, the property, and the respectability of families are destroyed, and they, who might have been the ornaments of their State and the benefactors of their race, sink dishonored to an early grave, occasioning grief and drawing tears from their survivors, not so much for their departure, but because of their havoc and their disgrace.

The relaxations of uncivilized nations are for the most part characterized by their vulgarity, their cruelty, or their licentiousness; and as men are raised upon the scale of refinement, their amusements generally lose many of these marks. The cultivation of literature is one of the ordinary

and natural means of thus elevating man, and hence it has been, at an early period, well observed: *Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes emmolit mores nec sinit esse feros.* The boisterous whoop, the rude familiarity, the dangerous jostle, the exhibition of grotesque mummery, the casting of ridicule upon our fellows, or exhibiting them in awkward predicaments in the view of others, are, to many persons of vulgar feelings, sources of infinite amusement; and they who thus delight in the annoyance of their associates are persons who would, for similar treatment in respect to themselves, seek a marked revenge.

Our feelings are not unfrequently put to unpleasant trials at even reading the description of the tortures inflicted upon their prisoners, by savage tribes, and the enjoyment which the suffering affords to the cruel executioner. Nor does history confine the recital to the deeds of such rude hordes. The arena of the amphitheatre witnessed the shouts of the delighted multitude, whilst its sand drank up the expiring gladiator's blood, or yet exposed the reeking fragments of the half-devoured bodies of Christian victims which the beasts of prey tore for the entertainment of their no less savage beholders. Surely I need not draw your attention to the excitement of beasts and even birds, and the arming them for mutual destruction, to afford the opportunity of relaxation and enjoyment, united to the indulgence of their love of gambling, to men said to be respectable. What a spectacle to behold! A man whose mind is cast in the most perfect mould, and upon whose character and conduct a lovely family has rested all its hope, to whom a vicinage looks for its weight and its respectability, forgetting his proper place and madly risking the means of fortune and of fame for himself and for others upon the superior instinct for destruction or the fortuitous exposure or activity of a poor bird, thus unnaturally excited and thus wickedly armed! Do these cruel sports add dignity to our nature? Do they confer benefits upon society? I shall not speak of the more criminal and more destructive and degrading dissipation to

which idleness conducts, to which excess stimulates, and for which the other indulgences usually prepare. How extensive is the blight that has been produced by their united influence!

Relaxation is necessary, but it should be rational. It ought to be suited to renew our powers without destroying our morals or impairing our standing in society. And surely no one will pretend that our faculties are improved, or that our powers of mind or body are renewed, preserved or invigorated by the indulgence in pursuits which necessarily demoralize. Such habits not only relax the vigor of our mental faculties, but they undermine even the bodily powers. There is an inherent respect and love for virtue in the human mind, which even the most depraved course of vice cannot utterly destroy, and which no power of sophistry can delude. I have conversed in his dungeon with the outcast of society, and whilst he braved the scorn of the world and affected to despise its condemnation, he avowed that he could not extinguish the glimmerings of conscience nor be insensible to its reproof. And whilst in defiance of mankind he lifted himself in the bad spirit of unyielding pride even to blaspheme the God of heaven and to deny the sanctions of virtue, his heart quailed at his own misconduct, whilst he sought to make the recklessness of despair pass for the courage that accompanies the convictions of truth. Thus it is that the agonies of self-reproach consume the force of the understanding, enervate the soul, and drive the criminal from the calm pursuit of truth and the industrious collection of knowledge, to seek for protection against his inward monitor, by recurring to the distractions of external dissipation and sometimes even that he may obstruct the power of memory by plunging into stupefaction. Hence it is that all writers upon science, and especially when they treat of its applicability to the improvement of others, lay down as a maxim, that its votary should be virtuous, if he would be successful. And indeed what is thus said of science is true of every other useful occupation. The attainment of success requires

that the unbroken powers of the soul should be directed to secure it;—but this cannot be the case where they are prostrated by remorse or impaired by irregular habits. It is true, that rare instances of partial success are occasionally found as exceptions to this position. They are, however, not only exceptions, but they are, in general, fearful examples, which show us how some mighty mind, gathering the shattered forces which it still retains, may in one splendid effort achieve its object by its own destruction; just as the commander, who has prodigally wasted the lives of many of his gallant soldiers by his indiscretion, finding himself driven to his last entrenchment, determines at least to save the city which he covers, and marshalling the fragments of his once powerful host, urges them by word and by example to one noble act of devotion. The assault is desperate and the result is doubtful; until, at length, the protected city comes forth to weep over the remains of those, who, victims not only to valor, but to wanton waste, perished on the very field where they annihilated a foe which they could at an earlier period have subdued with a trifling loss, and having saved their country might have survived to receive its gratitude and to share in its prosperity.

I need not enter upon any elucidation of the well-known fact that the close union of the mind and body induces a palpable injury to the mental powers as a consequence of the derangement of the bodily functions. Witness the ravings from fever, the dejection of the dyspeptic, the languor of the consumptive, the stupor of the dissipated. Nor is it requisite that I should even advert to the notorious effects of immorality or dissipation upon the human frame.

To me it has always appeared a great mistake to imagine that the preservation of political equality required the destruction of distinctions in society. To secure the first, which is of primary importance in our republics, I conceive it to be sufficient that each individual shall be upon an equality with his fellow-citizens in the eye of the law; so that the rule by which his property, his peace, and his rights

are preserved, shall be the same which preserves them for every other; that he shall be liable to punishment only for those acts that are punishable in another, and be tried and convicted only by a similar process. Moreover, that every citizen shall be on a level in the eye of the constitution; that is, that each has only the same burdens to bear, the same duties to perform, and has, according to his qualification, an equal claim to posts of honor or of emolument as any other. In a word, that no one shall have the prerogative, that no class shall be privileged. This in my view forms the extent to which our equality should go. To attempt forcing it beyond these limits would be not only ridiculous and impracticable, but the effort would be destructive. Can you establish an equality of property? Suppose you were able to effect it to-day, how long will it continue? Will all be alike industrious? will all be equally intelligent? will all be equally successful? Will all be alike parsimonious, or lavish, or equally burdened with families, visited by sickness, swept by floods, or stricken by lightning? You cannot prevent the existence of classes of rich and poor and of comfortable. Diversified as the expressions of countenance is the variety of tastes. Will you compel them to an equality in this regard? Whilst I leave others to a perfect freedom upon this score, shall I not have a just claim to my own freedom also? And shall not they, whose taste is the same, be permitted to cultivate it without being intruded upon by others who would mar that cultivation? There are, I believe, but two restraints which should be reasonably imposed here upon individuals or associations, viz.:—1. That this gratification of taste should not be immoral, and 2, That it should not infringe upon the rights of others. The ground of these restraints is so plain that I shall not point it out. It is impossible then, that there should not exist in every community various classes whose taste is more or less refined, nor does the cultivation of refinement in our habits impair the equality of our civil and political rights. It would be indeed a cruel tyranny to compel an individual to seek for

his enjoyment only in that which, though it suits the taste of another, yet is altogether in opposition to his own. Still as a general principle it is expected that they, who move in the more refined and better informed circles of society, should conform to the usages of their associates in the very character of their relaxation, for the similarity of their education and of their early habits supposes a general similarity of taste.

Our progress through life is comparatively brief, and it is our duty, not only to ourselves, but to society, to be useful whilst we are able. The great bulk of human happiness and of human prosperity has been created by the industry of man. Our predecessors have thus been our benefactors, and the fruits of their ingenuity and exertions have been to us a most valuable legacy. It is not long since the "red man" occupied the lands which surround us—and what was his position? He inherited the regions through which he roamed; but because he had little of that stock of improvement which the "pale face" possessed, the soil was comparatively useless in his hands. And in the accumulation of that series of ingenious discoveries which produces so much benefit for us, no inconsiderable portion is the result of well-directed relaxation, in which men of mighty minds indulged as a relief from graver study. With some the cultivation of music, with some the charms of poetry, with some the studies of nature in her more choice and elegant productions, whilst others improved mechanism and aided the useful arts even for their amusement. Nor is the hour of social indulgence and good companionship always useless. It may often be profitably spent in that way which Curran described, in his apostrophe to Lord Avonmore, as usual with the "Monks of the Screw:"

"This soothing hope I draw from the dearest and tenderest recollections of my life—from the remembrance of those Attic nights and those refections of the gods, which we have spent with those admired, and respected, and beloved companions who have gone before us; over whose

ashes the most precious tears of Ireland have been shed. Yes, my good Lord, I see you do not forget them. I see their sacred forms passing in sad review before your memory. I see your pained and softened fancy recalling those happy meetings, where the innocent enjoyment of social mirth became expanded into the nobler warmth of social virtue, and the horizon of the board became enlarged into the horizon of man—where the swelling heart conceived and communicated the generous purpose;—where my slenderer and younger taper imbibed its borrowed light from the more matured and redundant fountain of yours. Yes, my Lord, we can remember those nights without any other regret than that they can never more return, for

> 'We spent them not in toys, or lust, or wine,
> But search of deep philosophy,
> Wit, eloquence and poesy,
> Arts which I loved, for they, my friend, were thine.'"
>
> —*Cowley.*

Relaxation is, then, necessary for man, but whilst he indulges in it to a proper extent, he should avoid the pernicious, degrading, and ruinous modes which too often present themselves to persons of every age, and to which inexperienced, ardent, and innocent youth is unfortunately allured by the most wily blandishments. Our recreations should be suited to the place we occupy, and made to subserve the improvement of ourselves, as well as the interests of the community.

It has frequently struck me that one of the secondary objects of a good collegiate education was to afford to men of improved minds and cultivated taste one of the best resources for the purposes alluded to; and that one of the greatest mistakes usually made by our educated men was, casting aside as useless, after their graduation, the books to whose study they had been kept for so many years. It is, indeed, in a great degree natural, that having theretofore regarded them as instruments of task-work, and that frequently of no

light description, the mind, now rejoicing in its emancipation, should view them as a liberated prisoner would the manacles from which he was relieved. This, however, is not a correct estimate. They should rather be considered as the means by whose use the mind has become greatly enriched. It was necessary in a large measure to compel the youth to industry that he might acquire mental wealth; it has been collected, and is treasured up; by a little exertion, he not only will easily preserve what has been put together, but will greatly add to its value; if, however, he remain listless and idle, even what he has already acquired will rapidly dwindle away.

I have known men, who, during protracted lives, found in the cultivation of classical literature that relaxation which improved whilst it relieved the mind. The last survivor of those who pledged their lives and fortunes, and nobly redeemed their sacred honor, in the achievement of our glorious inheritance of liberty, was a striking instance of this. When nearly fourscore years had passed away from the period of his closing the usual course of classical education,—after the perils of a revolution, after the vicissitudes of party strife, when the decay of his faculties warned him of the near approach of that hour when he should render an account of his deeds to that Judge who was to decide his fate for eternity, from his more serious occupations of prayer and self-examination, and from the important concern of managing and dividing his property, would Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, turn for refreshment to those classic authors with whom he had been familiar through life;—his soul would still feel emotion at the force of Tully's eloquence or melt at Virgil's pastoral strain.

Perhaps, the very selection in early life of this, as the best mode of mental indulgence, tended much to insure to him, not only his patriarchal age, but the calm and serene frame of mind which was also well calculated to preserve health and to promote longevity. When the young man is thus occupied, and enjoys the literary gratification, he is less

isposed to search for that society or to rush into those ıdulgences, which, whilst they destroy the powers of the ınd, undermine the vigor of the constitution, and are the relude to years of remorse and to a life of difficulties. his relaxation is unquestionably very rational, perfectly ignified, and would, I have no doubt, be found eminently seful by all who would adopt it.

There are many who regard classical studies merely as an xercise to become acquainted with the dead languages of reece and Rome, so that we may be able to read the roductions of their authors, and thus become acquainted ith their learning. And they very naturally tell us, that, eing possessed of good translations, whose accuracy is cknowledged, we can with more facility and precision, and ı an incomparably less portion of time, learn all that they ɔuld teach.

This appears plausible, and would be true if its assumpon were a fact. But such is not the case. The object is ot to learn the languages merely for this purpose. In ıe first place, the object is to form the mind to habits of ıdustry, to precision and accuracy of judgment, as well ɜ to imbibe principles of just criticism by a discipline minently fitted to this end. If the teacher, as in too many ıstances is unfortunately the case, especially in young comıunities, be not himself capable of appreciating the value f the course, or of usefully conducting a pupil through it, ıe fault lies in the incompetency of him who undertakes, ot in the inutility of that which is undertaken. In learning roperly a dead language, there is no room for idleness ithout detection, because every word should be accounted ɔr, its derivation traced with accuracy, every inflection ught to be known, and its precise signification should be ointed out; the dependence of words upon each other ıust be understood, and the rules of that dependence ascerıined and applied. This is the indispensable basis of sound lassical knowledge; and I ask, whether it be possible to ave the youthful mind occupied during years in this

process, without producing habits of industry and research? When this knowledge has been perfectly acquired, no difficulty presents itself in perusing the works of the ancients, but each day new gratification is derived from the discoveries that are constantly made in the very structure of the language itself; words are separated into their most minute portions, the original expressions are found in which men first called objects by their most simple appellations, and the composition of the word shows the combinations found in some new object, and this detection of the analogy between language and its objects leads to a most improving and delightful process of philosophy.

I am aware, however, that comparatively few persons are admitted into this field of recreation, because few persons labor to furnish themselves with the key by means of which they can enter; for, by reason of either their own or their teacher's neglect, they have not acquired that accurate notion of the original language that would relieve them from trouble in its perusal, or would enable them to follow up the discoveries to which I allude; and therefore the book is closed, abandoned, and soon forgotten.

Figure to yourselves a young man whose parents compelled him, through long years of tedious and often painful occupation, to reclaim a rich piece of ground and to cultivate it with care; see it now given to him as a possession, not only in the highest state of culture, but with an exuberant and inexhaustible depth of soil, with hands sufficient for its tillage accustomed to the performance of their task; what would your estimate be of the judgment and taste of this young proprietor, should he proclaim to his servants that they need not labor, should he take no concern in the management of his land, and should he suffer it to become waste through mere negligence? It will not remain unproductive. Should it not be cultivated, its very fertility will hasten its progress to renewed wildness; the noisome weed will spring up luxuriantly, the tangled underwood will thicken, and the rising trees will interweave their root-

low the surface more quickly than their arms will meet ove. Such is the figure of the human mind, such the nsequence of neglecting, by a little care, to cultivate in ur leisure moments that classical knowledge which you ve acquired.

The discipline, by which you have been brought to the owledge of this ancient language fits your mind for the aver studies and the more pressing cares of your manhood, it was itself that best calculated for your adolescence, cause your curiosity was excited and gratified by the bjects that were submitted to your examination; and ough you found some labor in ascending towards the mple of science, yet were you attracted by some flower at invited you forward, and were amply repaid even by e expansion of the horizon and the riches of the scenery at were spreading before you as you arose. Having once vercome the difficulties of the ascent, if you preserve your osition, the labor has terminated, and the enjoyment is ithin your control. Thus, what was originally an arduous sk becomes, by perseverance in its use, a pleasing creation.

The proper study of the classics requires extensive acquaintnce with ancient history. The writers, whose works are laced in the pupil's hand, were men of information, curately instructed, not only in the history of their own mes, but of those which preceded them. They often treat ecially of the important events of those remote days, or ey make direct allusions to them, to understand whose force e must become exactly informed of the facts themselves; nd thus the classical student is drawn insensibly to acquire vast fund of information in this department, in a mode hich stores the mind by a far more pleasing process than at of sitting down professedly to pore over the dry recital f some ancient chronicler of events. Take, for instance, e Æneid of Virgil and contemplate the vast accumulation f historical details to which it refers. It is true that the udent must labor sedulously at first, and must consult many

a dictionary and many a map; he must become acquainted with the early settlements of the little States that covered Asia Minor, that filled the Archipelago and the continent of Greece; he must learn the origin and the progress of Latium, the Tyrian migrations to the coast of Africa, and much more that you will easily recollect. But in the midst of this research, he is allured to persevere by the sweet warbling of the poet whose full meaning he desires to comprehend. It is thus that the years, which are said to be lost in the mere acquisition of an useless tongue, are employed in laying up treasures that may prove so valuable in after life. And it is thus that the mind, after having acquired this knowledge, can, without exertion, recall and preserve it as it relaxes from its laborious occupations, to enjoy the harmony of the Mantuan bard; just as when, with extraordinary labor, great research, and no inconsiderable expenditure, a fine cabinet of science has been collected from the several regions of the globe and the various kingdoms of knowledge, the exertions and the study for its arrangement are fatiguing, but it subsequently is the source for enriching the mind with intellectual wealth, easily acquired, the occasion of refreshing, for the memory, that which would have faded away, and an agreeable and entertaining retreat in the hour of necessary relaxation.

Persuaded that a principal obstacle to making the knowledge of the classics subserve the great object of polished recreation, is to be found in the imperfection of the reading, I shall illustrate, by a passage from one of the great masters of criticism the position I have taken respecting the necessity of deep study in our early life, to render those books delightful in after days:

> "You, then, whose judgment the right course would steer,
> Know well each ancient's proper character;
> His fable, subject, scope in every page;
> Religion, country, genius of his age;
> Without all these at once before your eyes,
> Cavil you may, but never criticise."
>
> —Pope.

You will then perceive, that, not only mere history, such as I have alluded to, is required to be well known as a preliminary to understanding those authors, but history of another description, and respecting which there is much less accurate information, even amongst men of literary reputation, than is generally suspected. The mythology or history of their ancient religious systems is far more necessary to be known by him who would become acquainted with the writers of those early times, than is a knowledge of the Christian religion for the person who would know the scope and meaning of the philosophical or scientific writers of our own age and nation; because their religion entered more extensively into the writings of all classes amongst them, than does ours into the compositions of our mere secular authors. Perhaps I shall be thought at least rash for the assertion that this field is very little examined into, but I could easily sustain my position, first, because the value of mythology is greatly underrated; next, because, when a mere vague general notion of its nature is formed, it is thought to be sufficiently known; and thirdly, because many persons, through an affectation of contempt for its puerility and folly, regard its study as at least a great waste of time. I shall only say that some of the finest passages of the poets and philosophers are scarcely intelligible to those who do not trace mythological history, from the first aberrations of the human mind in the ancient nations, through all their varied forms of worshiping the host of heaven instead of its Creator; of paying the highest homage to genii, to angels, and to demons, whilst they denied it to the God who made them; of beholding the universal soul spread through the whole visible world and manifesting itself in the fire of Persia; in the waters of Egypt, entering into its oxen and its leeks; found in the rude stone of the Scythian equally as in the Bactrian torrent, the Druid's oak, or the African sun. Nor is it for the classics alone this research is necessary; its results elucidate the pages of the Old Testament; *and the* reveries of Manes and the

imaginings of Plato must be known in order to comprehend the inspired passages of St. Paul and St. John. But I touch upon a topic from which I have determined to abstain. It will suffice for me to say that an extensive and precise acquaintance with mythology is required for a classical scholar, and that, to obtain it, he must go over a multitude of facts. By means of the knowledge thus obtained, he will find little difficulty in understanding customs that would be otherwise inexplicable or obscure. The histories of Saturn, of Jupiter, and of the other deities, as they are styled, are of a later date, and their character brings them nearer to the period of a more degenerate worship. To obtain this mythological knowledge requires that the student should traverse all the known regions of the ancient world, that his search should be continued through many centuries, that he should be the associate of the philosopher, the companion of the monarch, the observer of the priest; that he should go into the camp with the soldier, be seated in the hall of legislation, mingle with the shepherds as they tend their flocks or rehearse their lays. He must go down with the mariner upon the deep, observe the courses of the stars, learn their influences, not only upon the regions of Eolus, but upon the destinies of men. With the augur he must study the habits of the birds, by the soothsayer he will be taught the arrangement and the anatomy of beasts, and in company with the Pythoness he must be filled with the inspirations of heaven. Think you that, if the study of man be useful, this is a criminal waste of time?

There is, in the palace of the Vatican at Rome, a long corridor, well known to the visitors of that magnificent depository of arts and of literature. As you enter, upon your right hand, the wall is lined from the floor to the ceiling with fragments of marble, containing the rude and the improved inscriptions of Italy, in the days of heathenism. An immense vista opens before you, and to its *extremity this* monumental partition continues; the images

of gods, the fragments of idols, the busts of heroes, the figures of philosophers, the statues of emperors, sarcophagi, and pedestals range along its base; and the learned, the curious, the powerful, and the beautiful, the unbeliever and the pious, the gay and the grave, the libertine and the pilgrim, the British peer, the Spanish grandee, the American citizen, the Oriental sage, and the Italian peasant, in all the varied costumes of rank, of nation, of taste, and of caprice, move along the hall, reading the history of other days, and admiring the works of artists who, for multiplied centuries, have been insensible to censure or to praise. There you may detect their living forms, gliding between stern warriors frowning in marble, amidst petrified consuls and gladiators, blended with matrons, nymphs, and satyrs. One of the fathers of the Church has appropriately remarked that any one possessing eyes may look upon the characters of an illuminated volume, and admire the richness of the tints, the beauty of the letters, the decorations of the vellum; but, had he been taught to read, how much more information would he gather from the document itself! how much more valuable would it be in his estimation! So, to the scholar, how rich is the mine of knowledge which that corridor contains! and are not his authors and his recollections like that corridor, to him who has become familiar with their contents?

On your left, as you enter, monuments of another language are presented to your view. The walls are covered, but the devices are not the same; the emblems are occasionally varied. One monogram, however, in those of the earliest epoch, seems to pervade; the fish is sculptured upon the greater number; the dove with the small sprig of olive in its bill is there; a palm-branch, tinted with red, distinguishes not a few; an ark, borne upon the waters, surmounted by an arch, is discernible amongst them; the word PAX is nearly universal. The archæologist recognizes the symbolic language of early Christendom; and the busts and statues of some of her heroes, and the ornaments of

the Galilean religion, mingled with many a relic of those olden days, arranged under the significant and instructive emblem of the oriflam, exhibit the contest and the suffering and the triumph of Christianity! In studies like this, the understanding is informed, the memory is strengthened, and the mind is relieved. In the midst of our struggles through this changing life, it is well to have, in those moments of care, of oppression, and of dejection, some classic scenery which will be to us as a city of refuge, until we shall be able to recruit. The effect will be like that described by the favorite bard of Ireland:

> "Let fate do her worst, there are relics of joy,
> Bright dreams of the past, which she cannot destroy,
> Which come in the night-time of sorrow and care,
> And bring back the features that joy used to wear.
> Long, long be my heart with such memories filled,
> Like the vase in which roses have once been distilled—
> You may break, you may ruin the vase if you will,
> But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."
>
> —*Moore.*

The knowledge of geography, it is clear, is required equally as is that of history, and it is impossible to understand the ancient authors without having an intimate acquaintance with the lands and the waters of which they treat; hence, no person has ever been regarded as worthy of the appellation of a scholar, who could not at each epoch describe the political divisions of the earth. Do we allude to dialects in Greece? It will be as necessary for us to be acquainted with the vicinity of the State in which the dialect was used, as with the locality of the State itself. We may illustrate this by viewing the continent of Europe to-day. The traveller in Switzerland, for instance, will find in Geneva and the Jura the language to be generally French, because of their vicinity to France. Let him pass through the Valais, he finds Italian idioms and pronunciation becoming *more prevalent* as he goes to the southeast, and upon the *Simplon he* will almost fancy himself already in Italy.

Proceeding, however, from Berne towards Zurich, the German is blended with the French; and when he arrives at St. Gall, or upon the borders of the lake of Constance, his French is next to useless, and before he crosses the Rhine, he is a bewildered stranger, unless he can use German expressions.

The language which is spoken becomes, in some measure, that which is written, where the body of the people can write; and, amongst ourselves, I *expect* it would not be hard to *calculate* the land whence came the man who tells us that he has *notions* for sale; and I *reckon* we should speedily tell the abode of a traveller who would ask the conductor of a railroad car to be careful of his *plunder!* Customs vary with geographical limits, and we should be amused at the ignorance of him who would clothe the Scythian in the Persian's flowing stole, or invest the Ethiopian with the toga, with equal justice as we would at the folly of him who would declare it absolutely necessary to procure a powdered wig and ermine robes from Westminster Hall, to enable a Georgia judge to open his commission. The Romans knew as little of passing their children through the fire of Baal, as the Scandinavian did of the worship of Astarte.

Gather to-day the remains which may yet be found on the sites of the Volscian cities, take those of a more remote region of Etruria, and place them by the side of the vast collections that the Græcea Magna of ancient days has yielded, together with the excavations of Pompeii and of Herculaneum, to the splendid collections of Naples; from them you will learn the diversity of epochs, of customs, and of arts, and you will perceive the influence of geographical distinctions, as well as of distant times. I have seen the outlines of figures drawn with anatomical accuracy in *frescoes* that have, during more than three thousand years, preserved their original tints in an unimpaired brilliancy. I have seen the vases of a later period in another region, and I have seen the productions of the mighty masters who two thousand years ago filled Southern Italy with works of various art,

that have exceeded those of the most glorious days of Eastern Greece. The phraseology of the several writers who described those ages and their customs came vividly to my recollection, as I contemplated the "breathing brass," or as I saw the evidences of the custom; and I felt how groundless is the notion which some persons would inculcate, that classical studies are but the learning of a dead language! They demand close and unremitting attention to the geography of ancient times, tracing the origin and the migrations of colonies, their settlements, their neighbors, their border quarrels, their tactics, their success or their extinction, their government, their customs, their language and its modifications. This is a portion of what we designate as classical knowledge:

> "Patient CARE by just degrees
> Word and image learns to class;
> Those confounds and separates these
> As in strict review they pass;
> Joins as various features strike,
> Fit to fit and like to like,
> Till in meek array advance
> Concord, Method, Elegance."

He who, without such information, would presume to claim the high and honorable title of a classical scholar, may be well placed in the same category as the writer who should locate the falls of Niagara upon the Ocmulgee, or the one who would assure us that, after escaping many perils in descending the Chattahoochie, his mind resumed its calm as he found himself quietly gliding from its turbid stream into the deep and broad waters of Delaware Bay, with the Chesapeake expanding in the distance, and Bunker's Hill and the other Alleghanies proudly rising within his view to the clouds.

There is no power of the mind which stands in greater need of judicious restraint, and yet which requires more *freedom, than* does the imagination. Horace finely shows *its dangers* and its imperfections in the opening of his essay

on the art of poetry, and he soon afterwards exhibits the principle of restraint.

> "But not through nature's sacred rules to break,
> Monstrous to mix the cruel and the kind,
> Serpents with birds, and lambs with tigers joined."

Its duty is to embody, before the mind's eye, some sensible representation which shall, when expressed, better arrest the attention of the hearer and communicate information, than will any abstract description. Our nature is not merely spiritual; the chief part of our knowledge is received through our senses; we live and we move in a world of sense, amongst objects of sense, and though we may often indulge in metaphysical abstraction, and may reason upon essences and generalizations, yet we are more vividly and powerfully and permanently affected by the objects of sense; and thus the soul forms for itself, as it were, sensible representations or images of even what in truth are spiritual beings not to be apprehended by our senses, or of an abstraction which has no real existence out of those subjects in which it is found as a quality. Thus, though angels have no bodies, we imagine them existing in bodily shape. Strength is not a being, neither is prudence, nor valor, nor piety, nor strife, nor revenge. The imagination must, as it were, give to them existence in some scenery which represents what it is sought to describe; the picture must not only show each figure perfect in itself, but the entire must be harmoniously grouped to give a pleasing effect. Akenside finely displays the object—

> "Know then, whate'er of Nature's pregnant stores,
> Whate'er of mimic art's reflected forms,
> With love and admiration thus inflame
> The powers of fancy, her delighted sons
> To three illustrious orders have referr'd—
> Three sister graces, whom the painter's hand,
> The poet's tongue confesses; the sublime,
> The wonderful, the fair. I see them dawn!
> I see the radiant visions, where they rise,
> More lovely than when Lucifer displays
> His beaming forehead through the gates of morn,
> To lead the train *of Phœbus*, and the spring."

Nothing is more generally admitted than the impossibility of giving a precise and graphical description of what is not plainly seen and accurately comprehended. There is in many minds, and perhaps more generally discoverable in our Southern regions, as great an impatience of that delay and labor necessary to arrange this exhibition, as there is extensive power to call up the figures and to cast the scenes. And nothing is better calculated to remedy this very serious evil than habitual and intimate intercourse with the classical authors. Insensibly, the results of the rule they followed become so impressed upon our minds as to cause almost an identification thereof with our habits of thought, and a taste is cultivated which will instinctively detect any aberration from the great principle which was their guide.

"Hear how learned Greece her useful rules indites,
When to repress, and when to indulge our flights.
High on Parnassus' top her sons she showed
And pointed out these arduous paths they trod.
Held from afar, aloft, the immortal prize,
And urged the rest by equal steps to rise.
Just precepts thus from great examples giv'n
She drew from them, what they derived from heav'n."

—*Pope.*

This creative power of the mind is not only regulated by the use of their precepts and the imitation of their example,—it is wonderfully enriched by the vast treasures of materials which they have accumulated. These are inexhaustible for their extent, and wonderful in their variety; though so immense, yet you carry them without inconvenience, and no robber can despoil you nor speculator strip you. Your own sloth is the only plunderer who can, on this side of the grave, deprive you of the valuable possession. You are also taught, how, from a poor and seemingly barren field, you may, by industrious cultivation, raise an abundant harvest. Go to the sands, the groves, the pools, and the sulphureous little mounds of Cumæ. How

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> *More lovely than* when Lucifer displays
> *His beaming forehead* through the gates of morn,
> *To lead the train of* Phœbus, and the spring."

ries of man. We find our forefathers under the influence of the same passions and subject to the same infirmities as we are, and equally the slaves of prejudice and of pride as we are, having the same appetites and taking the like means for their gratification. If we come down to more recent epochs we perceive that though, in the contest with the barbarian, much of the more polished literature and the finer arts were for a time overwhelmed, still they were not altogether lost, and that the restoration gives a very different appearance from what took place at the invention.

Whilst we behold the ancient nations exceeding us in many instances in works of architecture, in persevering industry, in the amassing of wealth, in the productions of their soil, in military prowess, in force of eloquence and the sweets of poetry, in one respect they are confessedly infinitely below us,—that is, in their notions of God and of religion, and in their maxims of morals. They sought to acquire in the schools of philosophy what we say must be derived from Heaven,—and as the contrast in the results is as obvious as is the contrast between the principles, it should seem easy to decide upon a choice as to which should be adopted. Nothing will tend better to confirm what I here allude to than a calm examination of what their best authors testify regarding their opinions and their practice.

I have said that we are equally weak as they were, as regards our pride and self-importance. I shall endeavor to illustrate and prove the general truth of my observation. It is related of an Asiatic prince of more modern times, to whom an ambassador was sent from Holland, that he frequently was pleased at hearing from the envoy the extraordinary accounts of the customs and institutions of Europe. On one occasion, speaking of the intensity of cold, of which the monarch had very imperfect notions, the ambassador told him, that in Holland it sometimes produced *such an effect* on water that its surface became solid, and

that men walked on it in safety and transported heavy burdens upon it as they would on land. The prince immediately ordered him to quit his dominions for having the effrontery of endeavoring to make him despicable by inducing him to believe in the truth of what was naturally impossible, because the experience of every one contradicted the notion that any increase of cold could render solid that which was always known to be liquid. It was opposed to the law of nature.

Strange as we may deem this decision of the Eastern, I believe you will find it equaled by that of Herodotus, who, remarking upon the statement that certain Egyptians had circumnavigated Africa at an early period, by sailing down the Red Sea and after a long lapse of time returning by the pillars of Hercules, places his greatest difficulty of receiving their testimony upon the ground of their asserting that when at the greatest distance they had gone towards the south, the sun was at noon upon their right hand as they sailed towards the west. This, he says, everybody knows is impossible, it is against the laws of nature, because it is against the experience of every one that to a person going west the sun should at noon be to the right hand side of his position. I believe the law of nature now to be the same as it was then, and a navigator at this day sailing westwards below the Cape of Good Hope would consider it a very strange phenomenon to have the sun in any other position than on his right hand at noon; for he would be south of the tropic of Capricorn, and must necessarily have the sun to the north.

I have adduced this instance to show not only that the scholar can advantageously study the history of mind and the progress of discovery in the ancient authors, but that their perusal will show him how liable the greatest minds are to sad mistakes, when, by reason of their attachment to preconceived notions of their own speculations, they reject the evidence of testimony. It was thus that Hume, and others *of his school, would set* up their speculative notion

that "our own experience is the only test of reasonable belief," and thus, like Herodotus, they would, because of its novelty, make that, which was the surest evidence of the truth of a relation, the very ground of its rejection. This school of philosophers is, however, fast sinking to its proper place in public estimation, and men are more rational in distrusting their self-sufficiency, and in relinquishing their prejudices, as they behold the follies to which both the one and the other have led men of undoubted ability and extensive information.

I am convinced that to such an audience as I have the honor of addressing, it is quite unnecessary to urge the vast fund of general information upon such a variety of subjects as will be found in the books to whose perusal I have been endeavoring to induce those who would improve their understanding, cultivate their taste, or seek a reasonable recreation in classical pursuits. In reading them, they converse with the most polished, the most learned, the most experienced of the poets, philosophers, historians, orators, and statesmen, that the civilized world has produced during several centuries.

Amongst them are the mighty men who have by their powers of oratory swayed nations as they would men; who, to effect this mighty purpose, subjected themselves to all the discipline and labor which so great a work demands. Theirs was not the rude volubility which, let off from a stump, produces a transitory effect upon the multitude. No! it was the well-weighed expression of solid truth, sent forth to establish correct principles, and to win to them the support of the mighty and of the weak, of the wealthy and of the poor, of the sage and of the simpleton. The object was to lay the foundations of their country's prosperity in their country's affections, and by convincing the understandings of their fellow-men, to win their support to measures of public utility. Their productions have outlived not only monuments of marble or of brass, but they survive the wreck of those governments under which they lived, and

of others that have succeeded them. They are studied to-day as the best models for imitation. You perceive they are free from those defects which cause so many others to sink into oblivion. They have no vulgar personality, they are not pompous exhibitions of the declaimer for the purpose of winning an ephemeral applause under the pretext of public instruction. No, they are clear and forcible appeals to the understanding of their auditors, of whose respect they were certain because they proved their deference for the judgments of their assemblies, by treating them as men of understanding.

Having convinced by their reasoning, they delighted by a chaste decoration. This was investing, with its more soft and beautiful covering, the solid frame that had been produced, amplified sufficiently to develop the just proportions; there was no redundance to weaken, no excrescence to deform. Feeling strongly and warmly themselves, they breathed life and vigor into what would otherwise be a form inert though beautiful. Dignified and winning in their manner, their productions addressed themselves to the hearts of their hearers, allured them to obedience, and commanded them to action.

Amongst those who surround me, are several who must, whatever be their present prospects or determinations, be men to whom Georgia will look as the supporters of her rights, as the vindicators of her fame, as the leaders of her councils, as the representatives of her principles, as her protectors in our federation; and others upon whom she will rely to interweave new flowers in the garland of her literature. May I say to them, that, whilst they seek even from their own Demosthenes, to learn how they may succeed like him who

> "Wielded at will that fierce democratie,
> Shook the arsenal, and fulmined over Greece,
> To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne;"

they should know his weakness, avoid his faults, and receive

a solemn warning from his fate. Had his sole ambition been his country's good, his corpse would not have fallen disgracefully upon Neptune's altar.

On an afternoon in the early period of the summer, a few years since, I stood upon a balcony where the country-seat of Cicero overhung an eminence. The air was soft yet bracing; Gaeta was at a little distance on my left, the blue Mediterranean rippled at a distance on the south-western border, groves of orange and of lemon trees filled a large portion of the plain which stretched below towards the shore, and their delicious perfume arose mingled with that of many other delicate odors from the gardens and the herbs. It was like the richness of his own eloquence. But where was the orator? It was through the pathways of that plain he was pursued. It was near that blue wave he descended from his litter, thence was his head borne to the cruel Anthony. Need I remind you of Fulvia's revenge? And even in the midst of the disastrous estrangements and the cruel hatred of faction and of party contest, the very populace of Rome wept at beholding the head and the hand of their once-loved defender exhibited upon the very rostrum where they hung upon his lips.

Yes, it is a dangerous eminence! Honesty of purpose and unbending integrity, unswerving perseverance in preferring principle to popular applause, in worshipping Fabrician integrity rather than Plutus, or power, or office, will, if any human means can, sustain you in safety. But the temptations are great, and there are but few who resist them; hence the victims are numerous, and the fortunate are few.

Georgia has at this day at least one sweet poet, whose heart is as kind as his lines are delightful. It may be,—and let us expect that it will,—that other streams besides the Savannah should resound with the song. In reading Lord Lyttleton's address to Pope, you will perceive that he fancies, at the tomb of Virgil, that mighty bard to arise and commission him to deliver an admonition to the British poet.

ave stood upon the same spot, and a lovely one it is, ated nearly over the entrance of the great grotto of lippo, on the headland which divides the Gulf of Naples the waters of Baiæ. All the inspiration of poetry is d in the very breeze that passes over it. With a few ssary alterations, let me address, from the mighty tuan, that same admonition to you:

"Crowned with eternal bays my ravished eyes
Beheld the poet's awful form arise;
Stranger, he said, whose pious hand has paid
These grateful rites to my attentive shade,
When thou shalt breathe th happy western air,
Thither this message to its poets bear.
If high exalted on the throne of wit,
Near me and Homer you aspire to sit,
Of you quite worthy, were the task to raise
A lasting c lumn to your country's praise,
To sing the land, which yet alone can boast
That liberty which other nations lost.
Where science in the arms of peace is laid,
And plants her palm beneath the olive's shade;
Such was the theme for which my lyre I strung.
Such was the people whose exploits I sung.
Brave, yet refined, for arms and arts renown'd,
With different bays by Mars and Phœbus crown'd—
Dauntless opposers of tyrannic sway,
But pleased the State's just edicts to obey.
If this advice submissive you receive,
Immortal and unblamed your name shall live.
Envy to black Cocytus shall retire,
And howl with Furies in tormenting fire,
Approving time shall consecrate your lays,
And join the patriot's to the poet's praise."

t the period of the confederation, Georgia was the ngest amongst her sisters. She now beholds as many es succeeding her on the catalogue as there were orig- ly united. Yet a large portion of her territory has been lately placed in the hands of her citizens. Immense ies of her finest soil are yet unbroken by the cultivator, rivers are not cleared, nor is her mineral wealth lored. We know that rich veins are concealed beneath

her surface, but their value is scarcely appreciated, nor ca the mind yet estimate their extent. The spirit of her sons and the wisdom of her councils, have already made her th high-road by which, not only her own products and import will be rapidly conveyed, but by which nations and thei wealth must be transported. Let it be so with her literatur Let her University be generously sustained. Let he children devote their leisure hours to polite and scientifi recreation. Her riches will be developed; the cultivation o her taste will decorate her amongst her sisters,—her hidde treasures will be explored; from the east and from the wes from the north and from the south, will she be visite admired, and enriched by contribution. And as she rises i the scale of political and commercial importance, so shall sh be elevated in scientific and literary fame.

DUELLING[1]

It is a matter of notoriety, that during several ages a practice has prevailed, more or less generally, amongst civilized nations, of terminating some differences of individuals by single combat, in a manner previously arranged; and this fight has, at times, been considered a very becoming and honorable mode of closing those altercations. Some persons have frequently endeavored to find in what circumstance of the duel the quality of honor consisted, but have been baffled, sometimes by the diversity of cases, all said to be honorable; at other times by the opposition to correct principles in those general but essential characteristics which were found in every case.

I must avow, that I do not recollect a moment when I did not feel the practice to be censurable, though I do remember a time when I was under what I now believe to have been a very erroneous impression; that engaging in such a combat was, at least, an exhibition of courage; hence I never conceived it to be honorable. And having been upon terms of intimacy with several men of powerful mind and generally correct feeling, and in vain sought to learn from them in what one or more circumstances of the practice honor consisted, I could never obtain any elucidation. Was it in killing your adversary? No! for honor was generally satisfied without his death, and very frequently after the discharge of a pistol which inflicted a wound upon public morality alone, the parties who previ-

[1] An address delivered before the Anti-dueling Society of Charleston, South Carolina, in the year 1826.

ously appeared to seek mutual destruction became fast and honorable friends. Was it in violating the law? Was it in exposing one's self to be slain by an insolent aggressor? Was it all these united? Is honor then the result of blended revenge, violation of law, and wanton exposure of life to the weapon of an unreasonable opponent? To this inquiry I could obtain no better answer than that reasonable and honorable men approved of the practice, and thought it necessary for preserving the decorum of society.

No person can be more disposed than I am, as well from feeling as from principle, to bow with deference before the tribunal of such men. I am generally inclined to consider their maxims to be the dictates of the general or common sense of mankind, and since I prefer the collected experience and reasoning of the bulk of society to the results of my own weak efforts, I believe it to be the suggestion of reason, and the duty of an individual, to admit that he is not as wise as is the collective body of his fellow men. I am, therefore, prepared to view most favorably, and with what I call a fair partiality, any practice which the great body of reasonable and honorable men, after mature reflection, and as the expression of their judgment, and not of their prejudices, will say is necessary, or even useful, to preserve the order of society, and the decorum of civil intercourse. But I am distinctly of opinion, that the good sense and sober judgment of the vast majority of upright and educated men are altogether opposed to the practice of duelling, as not only useless for society, but as criminal and mischievous in its results. Hence, I consider the answer which I have received to be the too hasty expression of an opinion too lightly examined, and to be founded altogether upon mistakes.

As you have done me the honor of delivering your first address, you will, perhaps, excuse me for taking up the subject in a more technical manner than would be necessary for any future occasion.

To know then the matter exactly for our consideration,

had better look to the etymology of the name, the ure of the act, and the history of the practice, so that view of the subject might be more accurate, and our clusions more just. The Latin word *Duellum* means, as were, *bellum inter duo*, or *duorum bellum*, "War between persons." The nature of war is attempted injury after notice. Thus, to constitute a duel, there must be notice en of an intended attempt to do an injury, together h a warning to be prepared for defence; and in this differs from assassination or assault, of which no previ- notice had been given, just as regular war differs n an unforseen predatory or piratical incursion. A duel then a private warfare between two individuals, and is erally terminated by a battle with deadly weapons, of letermined description, at a defined time and place. In s description we must particularly notice the circumstance its being a private warfare; that is, undertaken by pri- e authority, and the word duel is now, in its applica- n, limited to the battle only. Hence the combat between vid and Goliath was not a duel, but was a portion of ular, public warfare, carried on by the public authority two nations; and a more humane mode of terminating ontest than would be the general encounter between two nerous and brave armies. In like manner, the substitu- n of the Horatii and Curiatii for the Roman and Sabine ies was a humane regulation by public authority; and refore neither of those, nor any of several similar instances h which history furnishes us, can be looked upon as a l. The combatants were not urged forward by private ings, nor did they act by private authority.

n seeking for the origin of this practice, we may close authors of Greece and Rome; neither do India, Chal- , or Egypt assist us in our research. We are told, eed, that it was a portion of that fine system of chiv- which decorated the middle ages of Europe, and the hery of that romance which writers have generally sub- uted for the history of that undefined period, like the

magic of its sorcerers, bewilders the fancy, and deludes with visions of glory and of fame. The splendor of t tournament is conjured up for the imagination, the li are prepared, the flattering crowd presses forward to th field over which pageantry, royalty, and valor preside; t loud notes of the trumpet announce the heralds' approac the mounted challenger appears, and properly accompanie courses through the inclosure, paying homage to those whom it is due, and waits in proud defiance to confi by his bearing that denunciation which is made in l name. His trumpet is answered; another herald appe with the reply; the marshals arrange the order of comb and the opponents take their ground. Fear, hope, joy, s row, and exultation alternately and tumultuously seize up the mind of the young enthusiast, the shout of victory, t feast of triumph, the rhapsody of the poet, the spell the musician, and the fascination of the theatre blend wi the sweet voices of our youth, and the scene is associat with all that excites the imagination, and affects the hea honor, love, fidelity, and fame, in a word, chivalry a the duel are identified.

It would be natural to expect that they, who seek on to divert the mind, would rest content with this exhil tion; but they who desire knowledge must ask its origi It would, perhaps, be natural to expect that thoughtle and uninformed youth should be led away by such exhibition; but it becomes persons of understanding, a those having a consciousness of moral accountability, inquire whether such a practice is reasonable and safe. I us then trace the history and make the inquiry.

The knights of those chivalric days were principal descended from the chieftains of those hordes, which, the early period of the Christian era, spread themselv over the face of Europe. Issuing from the icy North, th locked up in their cold fetters the minds and limbs of t survivors of their opponents. Long, desperate, and wi various success, was the conflict between the panegyrist

Woden, of Thor, and of Freya, and the disciples of the Cross. As the maxims of the Gospel won upon the mind of the barbarian, you might observe frequently the strange coexistence of discordant practices, and the awkward attempts of ignorance or of imbecility, to reconcile contradictions. He who would, by the torch of history, learn the facts which explain many of the mysteries of those days, must penetrate into the caverns of Scandinavia, converse with the Runic Scald, and frequently extend his journey along the banks of the Danube, the Ister, and the Boristhenes, towards the ancient forests of Sarmatia and Scythia, into which the great forefathers of this race strayed from the vicinity of America. I shall not at present lead you through so extended a path; we will not proceed farther than Denmark, and the discoveries there made will give to us the origin of our chivalrous exhibition.

We are informed by our antiquarians, that, amongst the ancient Suevi and Goths, there was a custom, from time immemorial, of deciding differences in a mode called *eenwig*, of which there were two kinds; the one was conventional, the other judicial: the first corresponded exactly with our present duel, the other with what in England was known as trial by combat. The first was a fight by private authority, from private motives, but at an appointed time and place; the second was a battle at a time and place, and with weapons appointed by the judges of the horde, to be fought under the direction of marshals of the field; and though, perhaps, it might appear extraordinary, in this trial by combat, which was the last resort upon the failure of testimony and enlightened judgment, the parties looked for the special intervention of the Deity, to manifest not only the truth of fact, but the application of law, by bestowing victory as well upon him who had right upon his side, as upon him who made a true statement; for it often happened in the *eenwig*, that both parties admitted the same facts, but differed only as to the law, the application of which was to be settled by the issue of the combat. Which of us would, at this

day, think of taking a knotty case of law or of equity from the mooting of our legal friends and the wisdom of our courts, to be decided by the erudite discrimination of a hair-trigger? Yet, such is one of the principles upon which duelling is based.

In the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, we find the descendants of the first northern invaders in possession and in power, in several parts of Gaul, Spain, and Italy. Whilst the Franks, from the vicinity of the Elbe, were settling down in the northern regions of Gaul, the Goths and the Burgundians occupied the more southern provinces. About the year 500, we find the Gombette law enacted by Gonebald, King of Burgundy, in which men were for the first time, in a country claiming to be civilized, commanded to refer to the duel the termination of those disputes which could not be decided by oaths and testimony. This king was an Arian, but the law was observed and enforced by his orthodox successors, and this we may look upon as the foundation of chivalric trial by combat. Having now obtained the royal sanction in Burgundy, and the settlers in the vicinity tracing their origin and drawing their customs from Scandinavia, being also disposed to adopt and follow the maxims and observances of their progenitors, the senseless and pernicious practice soon spread throughout the whole Gallic territory.

About the close of the ninth century, the Christian missionaries had made some impression upon Denmark, and early in the succeeding age, upon the death of Sweyn, the first Danish monarch of England, and father of Canute the Great, his eldest son Harold, who succeeded him in his continental domains, being a zealous disciple of the Christian law, abolished the ancient and barbarous practice of duels, since which time the Danish government has punished, with exemplary severity, criminals who violated this prohibitory law. It is much to be regretted that the laws of Harold were not more generally adopted and acted upon by other nations: but it is matter of consolation to find that the

remedy was first applied where the malady was first exhibited; and that in the region where this pernicious practice emanated, the introduction of Christianity and of civilization caused its decay. Much as the mind desires to rest upon this green spot in the dreary waste, we must proceed with the history of the practice. It was not retained by the first Saxon settlers of Britain; and Canute, the Dane, shared much of the Christian sentiment of his brother Harold. Thus, although France, especially, was now the asylum of this banished offspring of the North, we find its influence scarcely felt in the neighboring regions. Even the Germans began soberly to reflect upon the folly of seeking judicial decisions at the point of the lance or by the edge of the sword, and were already convinced that it was a manifest tempting of heaven, for a puny and weak being who felt that he had right, without proof, to trust to the prowess of his arm, for its manifestation against the ruffian force and practiced agility of some blustering robber, whom strength had made bold, want had rendered desperate, and deeds of iniquity had inured to blood.

Superstition is the expecting from any act supernatural effects, for attaining which, by such means, God has given no promise; thus, several persons, at that very early period, deemed it to be absurd and superstitious tempting of heaven, to engage in such conflicts for the vindication of right, because they saw that, upon no reasonable principle, could they hope for such a result, except by a miracle, which He, who alone could work a miracle, had not pledged Himself to perform.

The Lombards, who had settled in Italy, regulated that those judicial battles should take place under proper inspection, and the combatants were allowed to use only staves and shields; thus, although the absurd principle was retained, there was an apparent blending of humanity in their superstition. Most of the duels of those ages were appeals to heaven to speed the right. Can you discover any principle of religion or of good sense, that could warrant such an

appeal? Do you recollect the general feeling of disapprobation and of horror, with which the appeal to combat by Abraham Thornton was received in England, a few years since, when, to save himself from the probability of an ignominious death, he met the appeal of the brother of her who had been murdered with the legal offer of wager of battle? Suppose this unfortunate man was the seducer and the murderer of the too-confiding victim of his double brutality, in what consisted the propriety or honor of permitting, under the sanction of law, what his frame showed to be a natural consequence, the cruel destruction of an afflicted brother, who invoked the public justice of society upon the destroyer of a beloved sister? Reason, religion, and honor unite in the reprobation of so nefarious a mockery of law.

I said that it was not used by the Anglo-Saxons, and we have seen that it was abolished in Denmark, at the time that Canute ruled over England. But, at this period, the spirit of Normandy gave its full sanction to the custom; and when William I began to give his laws to the subjugated English, he introduced the trial by duel, according, indeed, to the Englishman, whom a Frenchman might appal, the contumelious privilege, if he were weak, of looking for a stronger substitute. This was its first legal establishment in that country, where the principle of the law has continued in force down to a very late period, if not to the present day. How far in theory it might, even now, be part of the law of South Carolina, and of those other portions of our Union which have preserved the common law of England, it is not for me to say.

Hitherto I have only considered that species of duel which is judicial, and which has been sometimes carried solemnly into legal effect. If any description of this combat could be defended upon principle, this alone could have the benefit of such defence, because it was not undertaken by private but by public authority; it was not supposed to be entered upon him from motives of revenge, but for

nifestation of truth, and the parties, about to engage, heir solemn appeal to heaven to defend the right; ges of the land and other public officers, sometimes ıe monarch himself, presided, and sometimes an igno- r a timid, or a negligent clergyman offered up his prayer to heaven to speed the right, and to mani- e truth, thus seeking the decision of that eternal who did not always give the race to the swift, or the to the strong, and whose providence regulated the of individuals equally as of communities.

all briefly allude to the principles upon which this combat is plainly criminal in its own nature; whence t follow, that, although the individuals who under ional sanction engaged therein, might be sometimes le upon the ground of ignorance, the act of the nent itself was void and sinful. Indeed it would now to be scarcely necessary for me to detain you with sion, but that it might serve to elucidate other cases we shall have to consider.

a recognized principle of law, that no subordinate l can sanction what the superior has prohibited. No y could make superstition innocent or lawful; and could be shown that God Himself authorized the to be made to Him, for a decision in the mode to, to make it in that mode is clearly criminal. ewish woman who had recourse to the waters of , for the manifestation of her innocence, performed ning act, because the Almighty had created this mode al, and to have recourse to a divine institution for rpose intended by its Author, is surely an act of s homage, not a crime. But they who derived the of the duel from the barbarians of Dacia and of avia, did not pretend to a divine sanction for their ; they only blended the superstition of the pagan ıe profession of Christianity. They might have seen dence of their inconsistency in Deuteronomy and in spels, where the precept was given and reiterated, not

to tempt the Lord their God. Superstition is a vice specially opposed to true religion, and strictly forbidden by the divine law; hence no human tribunal, however extended its power or high its station, could give a sanction to this practice. The civil law expressly condemned those fights, and repeated censures of them, as well as of other like ordeals, are found in the canon law of the Church. The Popes frequently used their best exertions to have the evil extinguished, as might be seen, to omit a multitude of other documents, in the letter of Nicholas I to King Charles the Bald, of France, about the year 850, in the acts of Innocent II, about 1140, and in the same century in those of Eugenius III, Celestine III, and Alexander III, in whose pontificate the third Council of Lateran, in which about three hundred bishops sat, condemned the practice as impious. Innocent IV, in 1252, wrote upon the subject to the clergy of France, and at the commencement of the sixteenth century, Leo X and even Julius II enacted heavy censures against duellists. We have also similar acts of several of their successors, and a very severe decree of the Council of Trent, the nineteenth, on reformation of those which were passed in the twenty-fifth session, on the 3d of December, 1563. However the various portions of the Christian body which have withdrawn from the communion of that council and those Popes, might differ from them in doctrines of faith, I believe they unite with them in the condemnation of such combats for such a purpose, as superstitious and otherwise highly criminal, and not to be sanctioned or justified by any law or custom. I believe we should scarcely find an individual disposed to advocate judicial combats at the present day, yet they are that species of duel which is upon principle the most susceptible of defence.

We now proceed to examine the other descriptions of combat, which, resting solely on the private authority of individuals, and not having been sanctioned by any semblance of law, are, more properly speaking, duels according

to our present acceptation of the word. The Scandinavian has also this species of *eenwig*. Civilians and canonists have varied from each other in their distribution of the kinds, the former looking rather to the conditions, the latter more to the objects of the fight. Perhaps we shall be better able to proceed with regularity if we view both enumerations.

Civilians called a duel *decretory*, when it was decreed or stipulated that the contest should terminate only by the death of one of the parties; *propugnating*, when a combatant went to fight, not for the purpose of slaying his adversary, but of defending his honor; and *satisfactory*, when an injured person sought to destroy his aggressor, unless he made due compensation. Theologians placed first that *to manifest truth*, which is the judicial; next to which is that *to terminate controversy*, but this contained a new characteristic ingredient, that the parties so hate each other that death only is likely to prevent their quarrels; the third is *to exhibit prowess;* the fourth *to avoid ignominy*, nearly allied to which is that *to defend honor;* the sixth *to prevent war*. Taking the theological enumeration, we have disposed of the first, no person will attempt to justify the second, the last we may omit, because it is one which on all hands is admitted to be lawful and sometimes beneficial, and is not within the range of our definition, as it is undertaken by public authority, in a public cause.

There can be no question but the practice of private duels was greatly promoted by the wager of battle and by the tournament; whose nature I now proceed to examine. When it was not a judicial trial for the manifestation of truth, it was of that description called for the *exhibition of prowess;* that is, a vain boasting of strength, agility, or pugnacious skill. The bad principle is the same, whether we behold it in two young knights who, with the eyes of the prowess, and beauty, and pride of a nation fixed upon them, seek for reputation in the lists, or in the gladiator at the ancient games, in the prize fighter of the modern ring, or in a pair of our wagoners who contend for superiority in mutual

whipping. Wretched weakness of our miserable nature! Glaring evidence of our degradation! We profess to admire benignity and its concomitant good qualities; we place charity at the head of the catalogue of virtues; whilst we indulge a secret gratification at beholding scenes of wanton cruelty, of bloodshed, and of death; and encourage to deeds of mere brutal prowess those whom we would venerate for the practice of the opposite virtues. To what shall we trace this singular but manifest deordination? Whilst reason almost instinctively tells us that this injury of others for the gratification of our own pride, or vanity, or curiosity, is bad, we labor to create sophisms for its justification, and strive to convince ourselves that our natural convictions are mistakes. So it is that the children of Adam are led by the impetuosity of passion against the admonitions of the understanding; and then, to silence the voice of conscience, they compel or they suborn the intellect, to appear as the advocate of that which, in its free and unsophisticated moments, it condemned. Such, my friends, is the lamentable outline which we must draw if we would sketch correctly the picture of our fallen race. As I prefer your own testimony to any abstract reasoning which I might attempt, I shall appeal to yourselves for that testimony as to the correctness of my statement. Whether would you admire more the man who, conscious of his prowess, sought its exhibition in the injury of his opponent; or him who, with a like consciousness, listened to the dictates of humanity, and told that challenger, whom he could crush if he would, that as there existed no necessity, so he believed there existed no justification, for doing him harm; and hence, although his presumption would seem to call for chastisement, yet a higher authority insured his safety? Is there not here the grand distinction between the indulgence of passion and its restraint? And which is more worthy of your esteem? I will not insult you by supposing you could hesitate about the decision. The law of God, the law of right reason, the common sense of the world, the vast preponderating majority of

civilized men, condemn as irreligious, unreasonable, and consequently unjustifiable, the practice of duelling for the exhibition of prowess; and hence you will often find the expression of pity or regret, sometimes even the half-suppressed sneer of ridicule, united to the acknowledgment of the existence of strength, dexterity, and animal courage of the successful combatant.

It might be proper here to observe that a wide distinction is to be taken between duels with deadly or dangerous weapons, or combats arising from hatred or a desire of revenge, in which serious injury is intended to the opponent; and those exercises or trials of strength in which there is no danger of injury nor any indulgence of bad passion. These latter are sometimes used for village relaxation and amusement, and in such as these it is perhaps good policy and wholesome discipline to engage men whose services might be required in the field of war for the benefit of their country. Yet in those trainings and trials for speed, agility, strength, and steadiness, care should be taken to guard, as much as possible, against inordinate vanity, or the harboring of unkind feelings. I am led to dwell the more upon this distinction, because frequently the benefit of such training is assumed as ground for an attempt to justify, by analogy, the duels which I have condemned; but as I do not admit the analogy, of course I cannot be expected to allow the justification. I shall enter more largely upon this topic, also, because I have often heard it asserted that to restrain the spirit which led to duelling, was to break down the energies and to destroy the courage of the soldier.

I am under the impression that the proper qualifications of a good soldier are not to be always found in the man who, for the indulgence of private passion, violates the laws of God, and of his country. There is one conclusion deeply impressed upon my mind, as well from some slight opportunities for observation, as from the testimony of several whose experience was very ample, and from the nature of the case itself; that conclusion is, that he who has performed

well and conscientiously his religious and his civil duties, will make the best soldier amongst those equal to him in other respects. I shall endeavor to show you what, in my opinion, forms the ground of much error on this head, the accidental possession of courage by a profligate, and its accidental want in a man who is religious or orderly; but it is wrong to draw general conclusions from those accidental facts. We all know that the degrees of courage vary in different individuals. What a multitude of its gradations exist, from its exhibition in him who, with unmoved nerve and unrelaxed muscles, leads his division to the breach which vomits destruction and bristles with bayonets, to the pale, trembling coward whose soul shudders and whose knees tremble at the bare anticipation of possible danger! And how various are its characteristics, from the manifestation in the calm martyr who, with wealth, titles, and worldly honors at one side, and captivity, chains, destitution, death, and ignominy upon the other, stands unmoved in his firmly modest declaration that he cannot deny the truth of what he knows to be a fact, to its glitter in him who cheers his comrades whilst he volunteers upon the forlorn hope! The neglect of marking those several kinds and degrees, and their several combinations in different individuals, has given rise to the mistake, and led some officers to assert, that a respect for the principles of religion and the regulations of civil society tended to destroy that bold and determined character so necessary for the army. This is, indeed, a serious mistake. It is well known that some of the bravest officers have held those principles and regulations in the highest respect, whilst they openly condemned the practice of duels. I speak of a fact, not merely in some degree within my own knowledge, but one which has a host of testimony for its support, that some of the most religious and regularly conducted men who had recourse to the ministry and the sacraments, were soldiers who had the esteem and affection of their officers, not only for the regularity of their conduct, but for their steady and continued hero-

ism, and protracted trials and desperate attempts. It is also unquestionably true that men of desperate bravery who had been, as it were, educated in violations of the law, contempt of religion, and trials of their courage, were found most useful against the enemy, but, like Indian allies, when not thus employed, it required all the vigilance, agility, and power of discipline and law to keep the untamed desperadoes from the indulgence of their natural ferocity upon their peaceable fellow-citizens. Had those men been nurtured under the restraints of civil and religious institutions, they would have lost none of their natural prowess, and it would have been more easily turned to good account. I make the assertion from having been satisfied that some of these nuisances of an army, who had been brought under such restraints, preserved all their good qualities, and more frequently exhibited them refined and improved by what I must call their civilization.

I would then say that not only is the combat for the exhibition of prowess irreligious and unreasonable, but so far from tending to the perfection of courage, or the fitting a man for the defence of his country, it adds nothing to the pre-existing degrees of that good quality, but, by teaching contempt for the laws of God and of society, and encouraging the indulgence of a bad passion and of self-will, it disqualifies its subject for submitting to that severe discipline and moral restraint which is the best preservative of an efficient army. When the master of poetry wrote,

> Honoratum si forte reponis Achillem
> Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer
> Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis,

he did not intend to give us the picture of a good and useful soldier, but of one who yielding to his gust of passion, would disobey his commander, desert his colors, and because of his private wrongs pray for the success of the enemy and the ruin of the army in which he served, and who is again brought to the field, not by a sense of public

duty, but roused by the workings of private friendship to seek unmeasured revenge. Such exactly is the soldier whom the principles of duelling would produce. Judge you, how long an army of such men would preserve our republic.

We may be told, surely, that an ignominious life is what neither reason nor religion would compel one to lead. If, during the whole period of a man's subsequent existence, he is, for the omission of an act, to be

> A fixed figure, for the hand of scorn
> To point his slow and moving finger at,

it cannot be immoral to make one effort for relief from so cruel a state of degraded endurance. Does the end then justify the means? Are we at liberty to relieve ourselves from an unpleasant predicament, without considering the propriety of that mode by which we may be extricated? Proclaim the maxim to the highwayman who seeks to relieve his poverty by plunder. To him it will be gratifying to learn that this principle is adopted by men of honor and of high standing. Whisper it to the innocent victim of another's perjury. He has languished in his dungeon, dreading conviction for an infamous crime, which he never contemplated; but now he learns that since we are not to consider the dishonesty of the means, but the desirableness of the end, the dagger of some friend can remove the lying accuser, and release him to freedom and to fame. You are startled at the proposal, and well you may; for never was a more atrocious and destructive principle insinuated, than that the end justifies the means. Neither reason nor religion would require of you to lead an ignominious life; although both enjoin that you shall not use improper means to avoid that ignominy of which you are so apprehensive. But what is this ignominy that you dread? Should you not dread the commission of crime more than any imputation? The one is always a real and paramount evil, the other is often only imaginary and transient. He who would commit a crime, in order to avoid the mockery or

the condemnation of the multitude, is a weak and an unprincipled man. You cannot do evil that good may arise therefrom; such is the great principle of sound morality and of true honor. Is he who enters into this combat, in compliance with prejudices, or the partialities of the public, or to conform to a fashion whose principle he himself condemns, an honorable man? That you are not to do evil is an absolute principle both of reason and of revelation; hence we should, in considering the absolute good or evil of the means, throw the end out of our view. I shall now merely observe that the combatant who is roused by such a motive is a true coward, who, in the conflict between the fear of ridicule and the fear of crime, yields to the former.

It is said that no species of moral courage exceeds that of a man who follows the dictates of his judgment or conscience, amidst the taunts and reproaches of the world. By this sort of courage, the ancients believed their far-famed Hercules was more distinguished than by his labors or victories. Certainly our divine Redeemer taught admirable lessons upon this subject; the principles of His Gospel are the foundation of the most heroic fortitude, the purest honor, and the most unbending courage; in His discourses, we find lessons which exceed the perfection of the most sublime philosopher as much as heaven exceeds the earth. But since, by some extraordinary fatality, whilst it is avowed that the practice of duelling is clearly condemned by the Christian law, persons, who profess to be observers of that law, attempt to vindicate the practice, and yet declaim against the application of the Gospel maxims in examining the subject, I have determined to be very sparing of any aid from that source; especially as, even without such aid, I trust my object is attainable. Upon what ground can he who engages in a duel, through the fear of ignominy, lay claim to courage? His act is, as we have seen, and shall still more fully see, plainly immoral, and he offends God, because he fears the censure of men. They who pos-

sess the high moral virtue of fortitude will endure t taunts and reproaches of the world, and submit willing to torture of body and inquietude of mind, rather th act against the divine law, the law of conscience, or t just regulations of society; this is what I consider to the true test of honor. Thus, to avoid ignominy is not motive which would justify the performance of an unlaw action; and no truly courageous man has ever yet foug from such a motive. Ignominy, as regards this practi is a phantom to terrify the timid, to govern the wea and to force cowards to assume the semblance of a virt which they have not. Hence, it has frequently and jus been observed, that they who entered the field of sin combat, to preserve their names from the post, were v inefficient comrades when armies rushed to the charge. P haps the following anecdote, which is given from hig respectable authority, would not lead far towards an op site conclusion.

At a period when duelling was not as much discoun nanced as it ought to have been in the French army, gentleman of very strict moral habits held a commission a regiment, and having refused to accept an offered challen could not make either explanation or apology, without be guilty of the exposure of another, or of a falsehood, wh he abhorred equally as he did the duel. His peculiar si ation did not permit his immediate compliance with seve suggestions of retirement, and he had to endure the m tification of remarks and coldness, even at the comn table, from his fellow-officers; he was designated in th circle as "the coward." On a particular occasion, was observed to remain long after the period at wh he had latterly been accustomed to retire, and his fe ings had been frequently and deeply wounded by major, who had indeed seldom respected them. This offic upon withdrawing, was quickly followed by him who l been the object of his reproach; and the company wh they had left was soon summoned to an unexpected sce

t a short distance from the house, they found the major iquiring, with anxious gratitude, to whom he owed his fe, which had been assailed in the dark by three ruf-ans, and heard him receive the calm but emphatic answer— to the coward." One of the assailants lay a corpse, one :riously wounded, and the other was a disarmed prisoner ı the coward's grasp. They had rushed upon a man nable to protect himself, and had been overcome by a an who had too much courage to be a duellist. To ı almost involuntary expression of surprise, the only reply as: "Major! the God whom we profess to serve has rdered me to return good for evil; my life and my exer-ions are the property of my king and the French nation. know when I ought to be prepared to lay down or to xpose that life, as well as when I ought to preserve it; nd I trust I shall be always ready to do my duty, and ot to be drawn from its performance, by the unmeaning aunts of persons who have no opinion of their own, but re led by the caprice of others." To a request of the fficer's that he should forget what had occurred, his reply vas, that he had never borne any ill-will to those who had ill-treated him; and that during the period of his stay there was no probability of any diminution of friendship, as he was preparing to join another regiment, into which he had obtained an exchange, and the officers of which held, he believed, principles congenial to his own.

This might bear the semblance of what is made in romance, but let it be remembered that those books are given as an imitation of real life, and the testimony from which this has been received was unexceptionable. Proba-bly I shall not go too far, in making the assertion, that instances of such magnanimity, fortitude, and heroism are more frequent than we are supposed to believe. Human nature, thank God! is not so universally depraved as to debase us all, and there are to be found this day, proba-bly, brave generals who could wipe the vile phlegm from their brow, and tell the brainless simpleton that caused it,

as did a valiant man who led armies to victory: "Young man, you should suffer for your misdonduct, if I could as easily wipe your blood from my conscience, as I can your spittle from this forehead." Did his king or his army respect his head the less for that defilement? Does not his name stand higher in your estimation than if he had been the victor in a hundred duels? But you will answer me, that his character was his protection. Yes, my friends, it was, and so will it be the protection of every man who prefers the discharge of his duty to the indulgence of his passion, and who fears God, but who has no other fear. Such a man need not engage in a combat to avoid disgrace; the cloud of erroneous opinion may indeed obscure his disc, but it will be transient, and the restoration of his radiance will be more welcome.

The duel for the protection of honor might be considered that to which I ought principally if not exclusively to have paid attention, since most of our modern combats are, or affect to be, of this description; but I have preferred leaving it to the last, because an opportunity has been afforded of considering in the previous examination, especially of the trial by combat to avoid disgrace, many principles which will bear with equal force upon this case. The grand distinction between this and the others is, that this appears to have less superstition and more of what the world calls spirit. I freely concede that the plea in its favor is more specious, and the delusion which surrounds it is stronger. I have, therefore, reserved it for the purpose of being more fully met by the application of the general principles upon which all duels are condemned. For the reprobation of each kind, special names were adduced, which in each case bore upon the peculiar demerits of the particular species, nor is the reprobation of this without strong and powerful special arguments, the outline of which, only, I shall mark; and for the cause before assigned they must lose much of their strength in my prudent mode of using them, since this duel is peculiarly

emned by the Gospel, from the aid of which, on the
:nt occasion, I have by advice, and upon consideration,
st debarred myself. But before I enter upon those
ial grounds, let us consider the general topic upon
h every species of duelling is found to be immoral
unlawful.

an, being a creature, is amenable to his Creator; and
s immoral in him to violate the law of that great Self-
stent to whom he owes the homage of all his faculties
the most perfect obedience. I shall assume, as granted,
the Almighty has made known to man His canon against
destruction. I assume, also, that an isolated human
g, however unconnected he might be with his fellows,
not, morally speaking, from the Lord of life and death,
power of putting a period to his own existence; but
t await the summons of his Judge, either by the process
His general law or by some special message. I assume
:her principle as equally clear, that no individual has a
ıral right to take away the life of his fellow-man. And
: a question arises, the examination of which becomes
emely important, but into the discussion of which I
ll not now enter at any length. Whence is derived the
ıt which States possess to punish malefactors by death?
ence the right to slay in war, and whence the right of
ividuals to slay an unjust aggressor? I answer: From
n who alone has the power to make the grant; from
Creator. Man not being, therefore, master of his own
, could not bestow what was not under his dominion, he
ld not give to society, nor to its government, nor to an
ividual, a title which did not exist in himself. Where
inct history and plain reason concur in exhibiting facts
us, it would be palpable folly on our part to resort to
ulation and conjecture, to seek for the knowledge taught
us by this better mode. It is a fact that God has left
society the power or the right of regulating its various
as of civil government accommodated to its various cir-
stances. But upon every regular government, thus created

or accepted by the people, He bestows the powers necessary for the well-being of society, and amongst others that of punishing malefactors even capitally, that of repelling enemies even by the infliction of death, and of carrying war for just cause into their territories; also, in cases of extreme necessity, where no other mode of preserving his own safety is left to an individual, God and the government bestow upon him the right of guarding his own life by taking that of an unjust aggressor, but it is bestowed only in that extreme case, and under the double responsibility of him who uses it to the tribunal of his country and the tribunal of his God. The evidence in support of these facts is plain and ample; but it is one of our misfortunes that we too often desert the solid ground of fact to amuse ourselves in a speculation which we miscall philosophy.

Governments thus vested with power by God and by the people, by the Creator and by the creature, have regulated the great principles of social order by the light of reason, perhaps aided by the revelation of Him from whom reason emanates. One of their first principles is, that the unsettled differences of individuals shall be adjusted, not by the passions of the disputants or their friends, but by the tribunals of the nation. Were the power of inflicting death for offences taken from the impartial tribunals and vested in the interested individuals, what a scene of desolation would this world of ours present! How would injury excite revenge, and revenge produce retaliation! The sweet charities of life would be driven from our solace, and ruffian violence would stalk forth crushing as he proceeded in his horrid triumph. Where should we find the abode of virtue, the asylum of innocence, the safeguard of youth, or the protection of age? Is the duellist to be their bulwark? Or shall the unblushing transgressor of the first principle of social order presume to offer his offensive and unholy aid to sustain the sanctions of that law whose very sanctity he has disregarded? He has hurled down the judge, profaned the bench, insulted the legislature, usurped the high prerogative

of heaven, and stood in open conflict with the Eternal; and this unprincipled man, with honor on his lips and transgression in his acts, dares to say that in the indulgence of the malignant spirit of his revenge is to be found the salvation of good order! No! If we were to reduce this principle to practice, every man would stand armed against his brother, and in one century the generation of Adam would be extinguished by the fall of the last murderer upon the decaying limbs of his last victim, whilst the good angels would look down with horror and pity upon that spot over which demons exulted. The providence of heaven, to prevent this evil, has decreed that in the wildest horde which roves through our forests there should exist some semblance of a tribunal by which human life is saved from the malignity of human passion.

Man, then, has not power over his own life. Society does not derive from individuals its power of taking away life. Although no injury should result to others from the death of an isolated man; still he will be himself a criminal if he procures it; nor has he a right to concede to another what is not permitted to himself, much less is he justified in depriving another human being of life; neither can he plead that he did it with the consent of him whom he slew. Such consent is a mockery; it is a grant of what could not be given; it is the assumption of what could not be taken; it is an immoral, an irreligious usurpation of the prerogative of the Deity, who is the sole arbiter of life and death. What then shall we say of those who add to this crime the horrors of multiplied injustice and the laceration of feelings; who inflict protracted and unutterable agony upon an innocent and impoverished family? Unfortunate delinquent! do you not see by how many links your victim was bound to a multitude of others? Does his vain and idle resignation of his title to life absolve you from the enormous claims which society has upon you for his services, his family for that support of which you have robbed them, without your own enrichment; his tottering parents for their consolation,

perhaps for the supply of their wants, and the helpless and indigent for that bread by which he sustained them? Who will give professions to his sons, who will cherish and protect his daughters? Was it honorable to plot in secret, and to perpetrate by stealth, the foul deed which has torn with so rude a shock the affections of the wife of his bosom and children of his heart? Go stand over that body; call back that soul which you have driven from its tenement; take up that hand which your pride refused to touch not one hour ago. You have in your pride and wrath usurped one prerogative of God. You have inflicted death. At least, in mercy, attempt the exercise of another; breathe into those distended nostrils, let your brother be once more a living soul. Merciful Father, how powerless are we for good, but how mighty for evil. Wretched man! he does not answer; he cannot rise. All your efforts to make him breathe are vain; his soul is already in the presence of your common Creator; like the wretched Cain will you answer to the inquiring voice, "Am I my brother's keeper?" Why do you turn away from the contemplation of your own honorable work? Yes, go as far as you will, still the admonition will ring in your ears, it was by your hand he fell; the horrid instrument of death is still in that hand, and the stain of blood upon your soul. Fly, if you will, go to that house which you have filled with desolation. It is the shriek of his widow, they are the cries of his orphans, there are the broken sobs of his parent, and amidst the wailing of his family you distinctly hear the voice of imprecation on your own guilty head. Will your honorable feeling be content with this? Have you now had abundant and gentlemanly satisfaction? Or have you, too, received your death-wound, and what must be the agony which you endure at beholding now, forlorn, destitute, and overwhelmed, her to whom you swore protection, fidelity, love; who is to watch over those lovely babes from whom you turn your aching eye. Oh! what must be the feeling when a father cannot look with complacence upon his child! You love

m;—indeed you do, and all the affection of a parent
hes in accelerating fever through your frame and sustains
a little longer. But it throbs at your sinking heart
l bewilders your tortured soul; the agonies of one world
l the horrors of another surround your bed of death,
ilst the unsatisfied ghost of your opponent hovers above,
ieking the dismal summons to the bar of an insulted God.
r friends, I paint no imaginary scene; but I shall not
tain you in the chamber of horrors; let us depart from
to inquire into the nature of that honor, the mistakes
ncerning which produce such lamentable effects.

Honor is the acquisition and preservation of the dignity
our nature; that dignity consists in its perfection; that
rfection is found in observing the laws of our Creator;
e laws of the Creator are the dictates of reason and of
ligion; that is, the observance of what He teaches us by
e natural light of our own minds, and by the special
velation of His will manifestly given. They both concur
teaching us, that individuals have not the dominion of
eir own lives, otherwise no suicide would be a criminal.
hey concur in teaching us that we ought to be amenable
the laws of the society of which we are members, other-
ise morality and honor would be consistent with the
iolation of law and the disturbance of the social system.
hey teach us that society cannot continue to exist, where
ie public tribunals are despised or undervalued, and the
edress of injuries withdrawn from the calm regulation of
ublic justice, for the purpose of being committed to the
aprice of private passion and the execution of individual
l-will. Therefore, the man of honor abides by the law
f God, reveres the statutes of his country, and is respect-
l and amenable to its authorities. Such, my friends, is
hat the reflecting portion of mankind has always thought
pon the subject of honor. This was the honor of the
reek—this was the honor of the Roman—this the honor
the Jew—this the honor of the Gentile—this, too, was
e honor of the Christian, until the superstition and bar-

barity of Northern devastators darkened his glory and degraded his character.

Is not the pride of the American the predominance of the law? Is not law itself the emanation of the public will, and is not submission to the public will the first principle of genuine republicanism? Are our governments so weak or so corrupt as to be unable to protect us, so that we must be thrown upon our individual and private resources, instead of looking to the power of the social compact and the guardianship of the social head? Shall we proclaim to the world, that we in South Carolina are brought back to such a state of dereliction that our public tribunals, the institutions of the country, the government itself cannot protect us from insult, and that we are thus reduced to the necessity of trusting to ourselves? Let not such a libel be handed over to the defaming press of Europe by an ungrateful progeny; let it not be said that none are safe from insult in republics, except they have been well trained to the use of the pistol or the rifle, or the dexterity of gouging! Are those the emblems of honor? But why place the ruffian who plucks out your eye upon the same level with the gentleman who uses a pistol? I acknowledge my error; I ought not; because the one deprives you of life, and perhaps of heaven, whilst the other only leaves you sightless. Still, though the injury is greater, the barbarity is not equal; there is more refinement in one than in the other, but there is also more criminality; there is more apparent delicacy in the mode of violating the law, but the substantial violation is more enormous; the criminal, in the one case, has fashionable fellow culprits—in the other, he has the more recent impulse of strong passion. It is not for us to strike the ratio of their culpability; their Judge and ours—He who has forbidden murder, and also declared that whosoever would call his brother "thou fool," should be guilty of hell fire, will apportion their destiny. My present inquiry regards only the honor of the transaction, and I can measure out to the duellist merely

nuch of that excellent quality as is consistent with the ıtion of his duty as a rational being, as a religious g, as a member of society, and as the citizen of a e whose laws describe the offence as a felony. Patriot- social order, religion, and reason, then, forbid me to gnate as honorable this bad practice, which criminal ion has too frequently promoted and encouraged. Being efore evil in its own nature, it cannot be a proper e for the protection of honor.

[y friends, in what does this protection of honor con- ? In affording to its assailant the opportunity of destroy- your life, certainly at the risk of his own. What ld you think of the wisdom and equity of that judge should sentence a peaceable citizen, that had been ulted, to suffer the same punishment as his convicted ilant? If you challenge the aggressor to fight, do you inflict, upon your innocent and injured self, the same ishment as upon the offender? Admirable wisdom! But do I seek for any semblance of reason, in what its own ocates avow to be defenceless, upon the principles of on? They only attempt its palliation upon the plea of ediency. They tell us that the dread of the pistol pre- es the decorum of society. Are we so fallen or ısed as this? A vile fear is then the motive of gen- ıanly conduct! Hear this, Carolinians! I will not under- an elaborate defence; adopted into your family, I see faults, and I know your virtues: my own conscience your candor will acquit me of flattery, when I pro- ıce the charge which this excuse would insinuate to be ındless. Your politeness has not been produced by ol-discipline; nor would you speedily degenerate from t has been the characteristic of your fathers, were you ıd to avoid this bad practice, by if possible stronger than those which the State, sound reason, and pure gion have imposed upon you. Shall it be again repeated the good order, the dignity of our Southern society, is e preserved in any measure by the pistol? No. If

we may pay attention to occurrences, we must perceive tha too often the intruder upon the polite circle is he who ha made himself most formidable as a duellist, and that h whose deportment is most correct, is he who proclaims tha he will not enter into such a combat. I need not inforn a Charleston auditory that natural good qualities, improve by education and by opportunity, and not the terrors o ammunition, fashion the conduct of a gentleman; and tha respectable society is fully able, without violation of th laws of God or of the State, or outraging the principle of reason, to banish from its circle, and frown down to hi proper place, the individual who would violate its decorum

Again, it said, that there are injuries for which the law neither do nor can provide redress, and to avenge whic is the only mode that has been ever known or devised. admit that there are injuries for which no compensation ca be made to the sufferer, and for which the weakness c nature and the violence of passion prompt us to seek th most desperate revenge; but, waiving every other answer I ask, is it reasonable or religious for the injured man t expose himself to destruction? I am told that, in such a case, I should speak of neither reason nor religion; tha the feelings of honor only must be attended to. When th two great lights of our nature have been cast away, and a desperate mortal surrenders himself to the guidance of a blind spirit of revenge, which he miscalls honor, it is a useless to urge argument, as it would be to discuss th principles of his derangement with a maniac; as hopeles to rely upon entirely, as it would be to soothe the famishe tiger from his bleeding feast. There is, indeed, one might Being, who alone could, in such a moment, effect a miracu lous change, and by His power subdue the rage of passio to that resignation which brings peace from heaven, and demands the homage of respectful sympathy from earth But, though it be not in man's power to change the hear of man, still power is frequently given to him to arrest th *progress* of his brother to destruction. Thus, at least, th

first fury of his passion will subside; reflection, remonstrance, entreaty, and explanation will proceed, and God would perhaps crown the work by diffusing His light around, and speaking powerfully to the soul. He at whose word the winds are still, the sea is calm, and the perilled mariner is safe, might assuage the tempest of the mind, allay the madness of desperation, and save two fathers to their families, two citizens to the State, and two souls from perdition. Such, gentlemen of the Anti-Duelling Association, is one of the principal objects of our society to volunteer our services in aid of the law of God and of our country; to restrain not by any arbitrary assumption of authority, but by the arm of the law, the unfortunate victim of a delusive passion, whilst he labors under its influence.

But this restraint, it is said, will lead to assassination; and who does not shudder at the idea of such a result? Is not duelling, however condemnable in itself, preferable to assassination? For one, though I were to stand alone in making the assertion, I deliberately say, No. They are both evils; if we are driven to a preference the lesser should be accepted. Generally speaking, the assassin is a greater criminal than the duellist, but duelling is a greater evil to society. That which is less destructive is less evil; that which excites more detestation will be more seldom engaged in and more speedily suppressed; it will therefore produce less mischief. Such is assassination. The assassin is not received into society; he who has slain his adversary in a duel too frequently is. The more delicate sex generally shrink from the former; shall I charge them with abetting the crime by encouraging, or at least not disapproving of, the conduct of the latter? I shall not sit in judgment upon them; let them answer for themselves. How many persons generally perish by the hand of the assassin throughout the world, in the lapse of a century! Very probably a greater number has fallen in duels in France alone in less than twenty years, during the reign of Henry IV. Not only would the loss of life be incalculably less, but

the moral sentiment of detesting murder would be better preserved. There is nothing more destructive to public virtue that to strip vice of its deformity. Since we have entered upon the distinguishing comparison, we may conclude that the saving of human life would be great, the horror of slaughter would be stronger, the punishment of culprits more certain and effectual, and the correct moral principles of society would be better preserved. It is upon those grounds that I stated my opinion that, in a public point of view, duelling is not preferable to assassination. There is besides another very material difference, that in the one case there are at least four guilty persons, both the principals and seconds, whilst the other crime is generally perpetrated by an individual. There is little danger of having the great principles of morality sapped by the crime and punishment of such a culprit as Beauchamp; but if the same bad passion, which was condemned in his act of assassination, had procured its vent with the same result to his miserable victim in a duel, instead of expiating the murder upon a gallows, the wretched Beauchamp would have been thoughtlessly received into several societies as a meritorious man of undoubted valor.

Gentlemen of the Anti-Duelling Association, it has been said that our society has done mischief, since no period has been more marked in this city for quarrels than that year which has witnessed our union. Of course it is assumed that since they have occurred at this time they must have been produced by the formation of our body. I am not prepared to admit the fact; and even if admitted, the semblance of its reasoning is but a common sophism, for coexistence does not necessarily involve connection. But suppose them to have been so caused, it is but one of those temporary inconveniences which is always looked for upon any change. You can say better than I can whether the charge itself is true; my impression is against its correctness. The year just elapsed has presented in this city a novel feature, to the examination of which, and of everything connected therewith,

unusual attention was paid, and occurrences which at other times would have been unnoticed or disregarded, became not only matters of observation, but of remark and of some ephemeral importance; the very character of the transaction has done much to promote our object. But that novelty has now passed away; and surely, in our mixed state of good and evil, we ought not, because of a few inconveniences, desist from making every exertion to attain the paramount good of establishing a general conviction, that true honor is incompatible with the indulgence of passion, the injury of public morals subversive of the fundamental principles of society, and opposed to the laws of the State, to the pervading maxims of the good and the wise of every civilized nation in every age of the world, and to the eternal will of the most high God. Let us then continue our efforts to subdue by the arm of the law, which is and which ought to be every American's beloved protector, the temporary madness to which, owing to the imperfection of our nature and the violence of passion, the best amongst us might sometimes be liable; and to declare to our fellow-citizens that we look upon true honor to be the accurate fulfillment of the laws of God and of the State, and that its highest grade is to be found in him who sacrifices his passions upon the altar of his duty. Thus shall we, at least, save our consciences from reproach and our names from inconsistency. Let us be moderate but firm; and as we claim over our fellow-citizens no precedence in virtue, in understanding, or in power, we shall not pretend to any exemption from the common frailties of our nature, to any right of dictation, or to any color of office, whilst we use that power which they and we possess in common, to proclaim our sentiments freely, and to co-operate in the execution of that code which but expresses the will of that State to which we owe allegiance and the behests of that God to whom we owe perfect homage.

On former occasions, the presence of ladies at the tournament excited all the ardor of those who sought distinction

in the lists; notwithstanding the edicts, the censures, and the denunciations of religion and the law, the radiance of beauty flung its halo around the field. If the troubadour sought to inspirit the youthful warrior, the smile of some damsel was the reward which he promised as the rich requital of his bold achievement. Thus, too often has the influence of the more virtuous sex been turned to hurtful or to unprofitable account. May we not hope for powerful aid from the daughters of Carolina in the cause of virtue and of honor? In the day of trial, then, mothers were found faithful to their country and its rights; they encouraged their husbands, their brothers, and their sons to exhibit their prowess, not in disgraceful domestic feuds, but in deeds of valor for the defence of their homes and the vindication of their freedom; they were proud to see them marshalled under the command of Washington, who was too intrepid to accept a challenge. Did they fall in the field of true honor, those women gave tears to nature, and affection to the memory of those whose blood became the cement of that Union in which was found safety to their friends and glory to their nation. Daughters of such mothers! are our arguments founded upon true principles and glaring facts? Are you satisfied that the practice of duelling is one of the worst remnants of pagan barbarity? Do you believe it to be unnecessary for preserving the refinement of our Southern society? Then be you our leaders in the sacred effort to identify law and honor, reason and the deportment of the gentleman, and to establish a wide distinction between the assertion of dignity and the indulgence of passion.

CLASSICAL EDUCATION.[1]

THAT learning is useful for the purpose of perfecting civilized society, has been so frequently repeated, and so generally and unhesitatingly received as a maxim, that no one would be found to question its truth. But probably one of the greatest evils which accompanies the spontaneous assent to evident propositions is, that being generally couched in universal terms, their expression becomes ambiguous; and whilst words are preserved, ideas may be lost. Would it not then be desirable sometimes to revert to those maxims in order to fix their meaning by elucidating their phraseology?

Literature has usually been considered under a twofold aspect: speculative and practical; whilst the former merely regards abstract truth, the latter applies it to our concerns. I am inclined to believe that there exists much less of merely speculative learning than is generally supposed, and that what frequently receives this appellation is but the appropriate basis upon which is raised the great superstructure of that which is practical. If I be correct in this view, it will greatly narrow the inquiry which I propose to make. Allow me, therefore, to illustrate by example rather than to establish by theory what will, I trust, justify me in assuming this position.

The demonstrations of mathematics and the calculations of algebra would, by several persons, be instantly denominated speculative; and even some might be found who would call their study idle: but abandon them, and see

[1] *An address delivered May 9, 1832, before the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina, on the occasion of its Anniversary.*

how much practical knowledge you destroy. The surveyor, the engineer, the architect, the ship-builder, and many others, will immediately experience the most sensible checks in their several pursuits. The observations of the heavens, the calculation of the paths of the planets, of the distances of the stars, their magnitude, relation, and position, would seem to have little influence upon the ordinary avocations of busy life; it might specially be supposed that they have no connection whatever with mercantile transactions; yet it is clear that the science of navigation depends chiefly upon astronomy, and the interchange of commodities is carried on through navigation; and thus much of the profit derived by the modern active merchant from the facilities of our age has been remotely created by the researches of some secluded, contemplative sage whose bones have mouldered in former centuries, either in Chaldea or in Egypt. How well may we compare the results of learning to the action of the human frame. We can seldom detect the original source, and we are altogether ignorant of the principle of motion; so the great bulk of men observe clearly the continued effects of causes which to them are totally unknown. Place the rude canoe and a steam frigate side by side; erect the wigwam upon the area of the capitol; bring the accomplished surgeon or the reflecting physician to the desolate child of the forest, who lies mangled or gasping near the uncouth weapon of the chase; send a competent master on board of that vessel to bring joy and safety to an exhausted crew who, since the loss of their leader, have been worn down by exertion and fatigue, sailing in a variety of directions, unable to make any harbor and totally ignorant as to whither they have been driven. In all these cases the utility of practical learning will be admitted; but in most of those instances the knowledge which confers the unquestioned benefit is evidently founded upon what many persons have designated abstract or speculative science. But I will go *farther* and will not hesitate to say that in nearly all the *ordinary concerns* of life this science produces the most

beneficial effects, without vainly exhibiting its agency; whilst we, who have lived only in polished or civilized society, view those very effects as the results of unaided nature; just as those Eastern beings, who have never gone beyond the precincts of their own palaces and gardens, and upon whose presence even the cultivator or the artist must not intrude, can form no idea of what aspect the uncultivated mountains would present; nor of the labor and industry that have been expended to produce those scenes with which they have always been familiar, and which they regard as being natural.

It might be then inquired whether there exists any merely speculative science, that is, any which is not applicable to the common purposes of life. I am inclined to believe that there does not. My conclusion is founded upon a view of particulars, and in this view I think that I embrace all necessary to make the enumeration perfect. Let us chiefly take up what are usually designated as the learned professions.

Law should be considered under its twofold aspect, legislation, or the creation of appropriate rules of conduct, together with their sanction; and judgment, or the application of those laws, as well by the enforcement of the rule as by the punishment of the offender. Here life, liberty, property, public peace, private security, and a great variety of the principal concerns of man in his earthly career are deeply and perpetually implicated. Besides that severe mental discipline and habitual restraint which arise from a good education and a regular exercise of the superior faculties, a nice power of discrimination, extensive acquaintance with ancient legal enactments of the several civilized nations, the circumstances which called them into existence, their mode of operation, the knowledge of how far they proved remedial or useful, by what means they degenerated or became injurious, perverted, or abused, will be at least highly desirable; to which should be added, familiarity with *their history, as also the intimate* observation of the actual

state of society, and generally of the human character. It must be confessed that here there is much of what is usually called practical rather than speculative science. But to converse beneficially with the ancient legislators and moralists, we must speak their language. It is true, that an interpreter might be employed; but which of us would feel himself justified, under the pretext of having a translator, and saving more time to study facts in preference to words, by neglecting the study of those languages which had during centuries been used in the republic of letters, to restrict his intercourse with the most distinguished citizens of the civilized world? But if we give the principle to which I here allude its full play, we shall not have left to us even the interpreter himself; since if the acquisition of languages be a waste of time, no person should be encouraged to extravagance. Whatever my respect might be for gentlemen who think differently, I am clearly of opinion that a perfect knowledge of the ancient languages is required for the study of ancient documents and of ancient history, and that such learning is far from being unnecessary for an accomplished legislator. It is to him the experience of several ages.

It is not unfrequently urged against this position that we have seen in these republics many instances of great men who have well discharged their duty without these aids. I do not question the truth of the assertion; but my inference would be that they would have done better had they been so aided. It is added that men of this description have, in some instances, outstripped those of classical attainments. I would only reply, that with the help of those attainments, they would have gone farther. I am equally far from supposing that what is useful is all-sufficient, as I am from imagining that every rule is without an exception, or that a prodigy is an ordinary production. As well might it be argued, that the improvements which produce speed and comfort in our packets are useless, because our rivers and *our seas* were passed before their introduction. I have *arrived then* at the conclusion, that for the legislator the

perusal of ancient documents is extremely valuable; and that as they can be best understood in their original phraseology, the study of the languages in which they are written is not, for him, a mere speculative engagement, but a useful portion of practical literature.

The judicial application of the law requires all the critical qualifications of the legislator in a more perfect degree, because, for this purpose, the object and meaning of the statute or custom must be perfectly comprehended: not only must its principles be appreciated, but the fair exceptions should be known with equal accuracy as the rule itself: the judge should be familiar with the great maxims of evidence, by whose aid facts will be clearly developed and placed in their proper and precise station, for the purpose of learning how far they come under the operation of the enactment. Nor can the jurist who is to arrange and bring his case under the observation of the court be less able to make that disposition of his materials without serious injury to the client, who, relying upon his capacity, has placed his interests in his hands. How much, then, of what is thoughtlessly called speculative learning, is of absolute practical necessity to the sages of the bench and the members of the bar? He who will make ancient language and ancient history his study, and will look patiently to their mutual aid for their mutual explanation, will discover treasures of ancient lore, which the half-informed pronounce, hastily, to be barbarism, because in a different state of society from that to which we are accustomed they aptly provided for the public weal, by remedies which would be equally unsuited to our circumstances as our regulations would be inapplicable to the customs of that age. Their laws and ours, like the coin of different nations, bear different devices and unlike inscriptions, but each is plate or bullion; and he who possesses both is richer than is the one who in fastidious self-sufficiency flings either away. Certainly, he who could acquire coin of only one description would act prudently in preferring *that which is current* where he sojourns: and if the

contracted mind or the curtailed opportunities of a professional man compelled him to be satisfied with only an alternative, the language which is now used, and the laws now in force, demand his preference; but if his leisure and opportunities will allow him to extend his studies, the added wealth of ancient times will better qualify him for enacting, for expounding, and for applying the provisions of the law to the circumstances by which he is surrounded.

Let us view the requisite qualifications for a useful member of the medical faculty, or for an accomplished and scientific surgeon. Besides that power of acute perception with which, as a kind of instinct, a man might be specially gifted, so as almost intuitively to detect the seat, the nature, and the extent of a disease, it is highly desirable that the mind should have been so disciplined as to avoid the hasty conclusions to which an overweening and too confident self-sufficiency would rush. The general and usual diagnostics are greatly modified by the habits of the individual, by the influence of climate, by the period of life, by the previous treatment, and by a number of other peculiarities which vary to an indefinite extent. If the truth of the admonition, *festina lente*, can be more usefully practical in any one case than another, it is here. Genius, decision, and action quick as thought can often do much for life and health; but, unfortunately, they may also, by one mistake, fix the irrevocable doom of the patient. It is not by the knowledge of the names of diseases and of their usual stages; it is not by the repetition of the vocabulary of a dispensary, and an acquaintance with some of the chief properties of drugs; it is not from the hasty, wanton mangling of a decaying subject, and possessing a general notion of the uses of bones, muscles, and vessels, that correct and useful medical skill is acquired. No; it is by the laborious investigation of a clear, calm, and cautious mind. No reading can supply the want of judgment, but no power of judgment will avail *much without* facts upon which its decisions may be formed. *An original* and distinct perception united to deliberate

lection and steady habit of observation form the best ındation for useful healing knowledge; and every mode, which these faculties can be improved, is an important anch of previous education.

I would here ask whether, generally speaking, the mind prepared to receive the seeds of science by what is usually nown as ordinary school discipline. I know not much the pinion of others, but I have formed my own. I would nhesitatingly say, No! And my impression is that it ;ould be just as reasonable for the planter to expect a uperior crop from an unprepared soil as it would be to ook for medical or surgical proficiency from the attendance ıpon lectures by a half-educated youth, let his abilities be what they may. Whoever, either from his own experience)r the testimony of others, is acquainted with the progress)f knowledge amongst students, must at once concede that :ven the best-prepared tyro in science will lose at the com-nencement far more than is usually supposed, from the nere inability of an untrained mind to comprehend the iews or to keep pace with the strides of an experienced)roficient. We are the creatures of individual habit; no speculative observation will supply the place of training; it ·ill certainly do much to improve the observer; but it will ıever, even in a moderately remote degree, be equally bene-icial. It is true, you may sometimes meet with apparent xceptions to this rule, but I apprehend, that upon examina-ion they will not be found such in reality. As there are nen of great natural strength of body, of well-regulated ourage and extraordinary agility, who will always be an vermatch for the best-trained individuals of puny frame and ervous debility; so in the literary world, there are those to hom God has given great mental energy, but to which ower man has added little cultivation; such persons will ways surpass these others, upon whom great human labor ıs been comparatively lost, because the Creator has with-ld the necessary share of capacity. I need not, with you, *vell upon the impropriety of* raising a sophism upon this

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fact. I believe you will agree with me, that they whom this delusion could influence are not of the race of intellectual giants. Yet, in a community like ours, where there exists a general ambition to obtain the honors and emoluments of the learned professions in the shortest possible time, with the least possible expenditure, and only that quantity of exertion which will barely suffice, there must always be a disposition to dispense, as far as possible, with extensive preparatory education. When we add to this, that self-love which, in every individual, creates partiality and great esteem for himself, and for all his connections; and take into account a propensity to draw conclusions rather from possibilities and the imaginary fitness of things, than from observation and fact,—we need not be surprised at the prevalent disposition to dispense with altogether, or greatly to curtail, those preliminary modes of mental exercise which discipline the understanding and regulate the judgment; we need not be astonished, that, by several persons, the information which I would call practically useful will be denominated speculative. Under this head, I would class especially, mathematical, arithmetical, and metaphysical reasoning. The mind, thus prepared, will be more powerful, more attentive, more patient, more discriminating, and more expert. The attendance upon a single course of scientific lectures, by a person thus prepared, will generally be far more beneficial than the same course thrice attended by the same person, without this previous exercise.

Medicine is a more extensive school than that of law. Every observation which I have made regarding the utility of the dead languages to the lawyer, will apply with at least equal force in this school. It is in those languages that one will best converse with the great fathers of the science; it is in those peculiar idioms, of which no translation can convey the spirit which yet dwells in the original, that the very soul of the master is discovered. The structure and organization of the human frame is everywhere the same; *and the science* of healing its diseases is one of universal

interest. Wherever the victim of the original malediction is found, whether at the equator or near the pole, in China, in California, upon the Mississippi, the Ganges, the Danube, or the Nile; in the monarch's palace, or in the Arab's tent; whether he discourses in the halls of the academy or encounters the lion or the panther in the recesses of the forest, or under the open canopy of heaven; whatever be the tinge of his complexion, or the quality and form of his vesture he is equally a child of Adam, and not only bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh, but moreover liable to all those disorders which that flesh is heir to. The necessity of studying and remedying or alleviating those disorders is, and has always been, and will always continue to be, a universal and an important concern. The subject of those disorders being, then, everywhere the same, and the attention of so many persons of various nations and ages having been given to the improvement of the science of healing, nothing can be more beneficial, or desirable, or proper, than that the good men so employed should possess the faculty of communicating, with ease and precision, to their brethren throughout the world, the useful discoveries which they make; and thus rapidly give to each individual of the fraternity the benefit derived from the experience of the whole body. This can only be continued, as it has heretofore been effected, by the preservation of a common language, the meaning of whose terms is not liable to change, and which is more or less prevalent throughout the regions of science and civilization, all over the universe. In this view, I fearlessly assert, that an accurate and extensive knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, so far from being speculative or unnecessary literature, is essential for the preservation and perfection of medical knowledge and surgery.

Allow me to add one other observation. The names of drugs, of Chemical, mineral, and botanical productions, of which such extensive use is made, are, I may say, altogether in those languages, and certainly the vernacular appellations *of substances in one region* would be unintelligible in

another; and whosoever would profit by foreign research, or turn the discovery of another to account, must be at least acquainted with the tongue in which he speaks. The acquisition by all, then, of a few common languages, so far from being a useless waste of time and labor, is to the physician the saving of both; because it relieves him from the necessity of acquiring several new dialects, that he may converse with men of science; or, in case of neglect, he cannot profit by their labors, he must have his knowledge greatly abridged, he must be dependent upon his own experience and that of the comparatively small number by whom he is surrounded. In fact, the want of such a medium of scientific intercourse would be equivalent to a professional exclusion of each nation from the remainder of the universe. And what would now add to this evil, is the fact that the present nomenclature is, to those who are critically acquainted with the languages, an extremely well-regulated mode of instantly and exactly bringing several useful and important facts, regarding the nature of diseases and remedies, before the mind, with the lightest possible tax upon the memory. Thus, to the physician, the labor of a few years in childhood is, in fact, the economy of a large portion of his after life, and the greatest aid to his accuracy in practice. For him a large portion of what is hastily called speculation is the basis of truly practical knowledge.

My own peculiar situation, as well as the state of our religious society, preclude details regarding the science of theology. I shall merely observe that nearly all the principles that have been applied respecting the two professions which I have reviewed, are equally of force here. I shall make but a single statement regarding that science in the Church to which I belong; and in doing so, I would not be understood to insinuate any contrast to any other society, but merely to testify a fact for the purpose of sustaining the conclusion which I am anxious to support In our *view, the* science of theology does not, in the whole system *of revealed* religion, recognize a single speculative opinion

views the entire as a collection of facts, whose truth is be ascertained by the most strict application of the inary rules of evidence. Supposing them to have been is demonstrated, it considers every one of them to have important bearing, not only upon the moral conduct of n in this transitory world, but upon his happiness or sery in that which is eternal. Thus we assume that in at is called speculative or dogmatical theology there does ; exisist one merely speculative opinion. The Church elf is considered as a numerous society, whose discipline law, one portion of which is a constitution that is con- ered permanent and unchangeable, another portion consists statutes enacted by the universal legislature for the iversal body, or by the local authorities for their particular tricts. The enactment, repeal, amendment, and application those laws must be governed by the same principles that ulate all other descriptions of correct legislation and judg- nt. However, upon this topic I do not wish to proceed ther, nor indeed is it necessary for my present purpose; nly desired to show that in each of the learned professions usual classical education was an exceedingly useful paration for the professional study itself; and I believe t I have made a sufficiently extensive enumeration, with servations calculated to show that, in preparing for the rned professions at least, what is too generally pronounced be speculative literature is but the proper foundation for t which is truly practical.

I do not undertake to defend the abuses of the schools of systems, nor to deny that there did exist a very injudi- us mode of what was called "sharpening the mind," by situating it to distinguish when there existed no ground distinction; to affect doubt, where not only was common se satisfied, but one would scarcely find room to thrust other ingredients of a syllogism between the plain xim and the palpable conclusion: neither will I make mmon cause with those superlatively ingenious disputants demanded, for maxims, proof beyond the universal

testimony of common sense; and who would set up the assumed possibility of a doubt as of sufficient weight to counterbalance an ascertained fact. It is true that, at a former period, the schools of Europe trained up many of their students in an excess of this mode of exercise; it is true that the technical phraseology which they used was harsh and barbarous. But it is equally true, though perhaps it is unfashionable to make the statement, that many of the persons who in those days had to contend with disadvantages, which we might imperfectly describe but can never feel, have left us the evidence of the prowess which was then in existence. This is not the place, nor this the occasion, to say how many of the productions of those times have perished, like the glories of ancient Egypt, leaving but a few heavy pyramids and some splendid ruins to testify, amidst the lasting desolation, that before the day of wreck there was an age of genius.

During centuries, the way to the temple of literature has been through the halls of the ancients, and the languages of the republic of science have been principally the Greek and Roman; especially and more generally the latter. They who have been eminent in these great departments of knowledge, were made familiar with these tongues by their early and assiduous conversation amongst the classic authors. As it has sometimes happened that a nation has been assailed with the arms furnished from her own arsenal, so has the study of the classics been chiefly, and most formidably and adroitly, decried by men whose minds were amply furnished from these extensive and varied stores. We have occasionally, it is true, beheld some gigantic warrior, careless of discipline, untutored in tactics, and despising evolutions, rush boldly into the fight and spread destruction and terror for a time; the contusions of his uncouth mace gave to the carcasses of his victims an appearance even more horrid than that of death; but when the first emotions subsided, and his manner was observed, *how easily* was he overcome! The transient success which

ıe obtained was the result of the mighty force with which ıe had been originally gifted, and the unusual mode in which he made his assault; but had he added to his natural prowess the advantages of discipline, how much more formidable would he have been! The war-cry of such a combatant excited attention; an unusual interest was felt on his behalf; in his own person, he for a time seemed to furnish a practical illustration of the soundness of his cause. Yet, I would ask, to what are we to attribute hat suggestion which is continually urging the observer o make considerable allowance in favor of such men because f their want of regular education, if it be not a universal oncession that the mind thereby prepared is made therefore uperior? For why should anything be conceded because f the neglect of classical education, if the want of that isciplinary course be not a manifest disadvantage?

The principal objection of those who would discontinue he study of the ancient classics is the alleged waste of time. They thus assume the very point at issue that the time is rasted. They attempt to prove the waste by the new ssumption that no advantage is derived from the study. . have endeavored to show that the advantages were very reat indeed. Conceding them to be great, they assert hat the time and the means consumed are beyond the alue of the acquisition. To sustain this position, they ssume that, during the whole period in which the study f those authors is continued, the students have little or o other occupation. Such, however, is not the fact. This s not the place to enter into details, but it will easily be perceived that in a well-regulated course, though the classics ppear to be the principal, because of the prominent objects, et there are a multitude of others which, as an aggregate, qual, if they do not exceed, the quantity that occupies the foreground. It is stated that the time given to this useless ccupation would be better devoted to more practical studies, hich *are omitted on its account.* I apprehend the argument *ould be found quite defective if it* were required to specify,

on one side, what the more practical omitted studies and then the occupations of a judiciously arranged of education were exhibited in contrast; for not only the object of these particular studies be found not or but it would be seen that their perfect attainment facilitated by the very means which were said to i their acquisition.

Objections have frequently been made to the works in the acquirement of those languages. They are s be calculated to pervert the judgment, to delude and c the imagination, and to taint the heart; perhaps I wou more accurate in saying that the allegation is, they te confirm its depravity. Were either of these statement tained by evidence, I trust our society would be one last to encourage the destruction of the mental powe to ruin the eternal prospects of the children of Car and if the classic authors usually read in schools were to ends so mischievous, we would, indeed, be crimi the highest degree by continuing or by encouraging use. But let us not too hastily decide.

I know it is fashionable to decry almost the whole of those men whom the civilized world, during age regarded as learned. Men who have never read a p their works have passed judgment upon them; person do not understand their language have furnished essays their demerits; they who know nothing of either the liarities of their situation, the circumstances of the r in which they lived, the genius of their age, or the they had in view, have condemned them. For some convenient, for others it was easy; where the bold a reckless lead the way, and some of the leaders are guished, it becomes as facile as it is fashionable f multitude to follow; and he who hesitates is perhaps valued. We can easily observe how the great bu mankind is led along in fashion, in party, in taste, in p *in amusement*. Boldness, perseverance, zeal, and t *turning* favorable circumstances to account, will g

insure success. Hence, though it be fashionable amongst a large class of our modern writers to cast obloquy upon the genius and acquirements of from twelve to fifteen centuries, the individual who addresses you must be permitted to say that he cannot unite in the vituperation. His own vision may be imperfect, or it may be that he mistakes the phantoms of imagination for the realities of life; and if it be a misfortune, he is unfortunate in common with a large portion of the great lights of our latter age; men in whose track he is proud to follow at a mighty distance. Though he be not "habituated to swear to the words of any master," yet he pays great deference to the united judgment of the learned men of every age and every nation of the civilized world; and, with very few exceptions, they have, by their precepts and their practice, exhibited the classic authors of Greece and Rome as the most correct models upon which to form the judgment of the literary student. To the mind's eye of him who stands before you, these witnesses appear venerable on both sides of the Bosphorus; rising up in the more polished parts of Asia, upon the continent and in the islands of Greece, spread along the northern coast of Africa, as also through Italy, Gaul, and Spain, during some centuries. It is true that the brilliancy of this scene was, for a time, overshadowed by the clouds of the tempestuous North and the desolating East. But as the atmosphere became attenuated, the beams of knowledge again diffused their cheering influence. Much has been swept away by the ruinous flood; but the cultivation became more widely extended, many of the former regions of science again produce their flowers and their fruits; Britain, Germany, and even Scandinavia herself became mellowed and fertile. In all those places the classic authors have been principally used for the direction of the judgment and the improvement of the taste; here, too, does he find many witnesses, and their succession continues. They appear also respectable and comparatively *numerous at our* side of the Atlantic. And *though the speculative mind* should indulge the inquiry as

to the mode in which they aid the judgment and improve the taste, and should declare itself unsatisfied with the philosophy of the explanation, yet the fact would not be the less obvious, and its nearly universal admission might be reasonably considered as good evidence as that which we have of our power of motion, though some abstruse investigators might be disposed to question the existence of even this too, as they can discover neither its origin nor process.

Will not the architect be greatly improved by the study of the ancient models? Does not the painter eagerly review the productions of former masters? Would the works of Phidias or of Praxiteles be useless to the sculptor? It is true, he might employ himself beneficially in contemplating those of Canova, of Thorwaldsen, and of Chantry: but why should even the torsos and fragments of former ages be cast away? Will the jurist make no useful acquirement by studying the disused or the repealed code, or the obsolete pleadings of his mighty predecessors? Though he should not find them obviously applicable to his immediate purposes, yet will they expand his mind, extend his views, confirm his knowledge of principles, and render him more acute in the investigation and arrangement of his facts. Thus will he be better qualified to turn to useful account the science that bears upon the very business in which he is engaged. The study of these ancient authors is not only useful to guide the judgment and to correct the taste, but to refine and warm some of our best affections. When the cloak of Cincinnatus is flung upon the shoulders of Washington, the coldness of even affected philosophy will thaw in the glow of that current which diffuses life and heat and ardor through the frame of the patriot; and the energy of his feeling has already secured in action that result, regarding whose attainment our semblance of reasoning would be only commencing its calculation. It is not so easy to give a demonstration of the mode in which the ardor is excited, as it is to prove that excitement itself exists; neither is it so *perfectly within* our reach to determine the process by

which our faculties are improved as to observe and to testify the improvement. The principle upon which the human mind is formed, the springs of action, and the workings of the human heart, are alike impervious to human observation; perhaps there is only one eye in the universe by which they are clearly discernible; and how immense is the distance between its strength and the weakness of ours? Shall we then deny the plain results of the experience of centuries, because we cannot perhaps give a demonstration from principle? To my view this would not be the perfection of wisdom; the larger portion of the little that we know has been derived from the observation of facts; we have very little, indeed, scarcely any, that is the mere deduction from principle; and though I have the full conviction that I am surrounded by my friends, still I am, as yet, altogether a stranger to the principle upon which consciousness accompanies vision; and I must candidly avow, that it is not by the aid of my philosophy I have become convinced of your presence.

The experience of the learned world has testified generally in favor of classical education, for directing the judgment and correcting the taste in composition, as well as for opening vast stores of useful information upon several of the most important subjects of practical science and historical details. My object not being to enter at large upon the vindication of the opinions which I communicate, nor to refute at length those from which I dissent, but rather to bring the topics under your consideration, and to suggest the points which would seem to demand special attention, I shall not enter farther upon the subject. To me, individually, the testimony to which I point is sufficient.

But, if I were insensible to the varied beauties of Virgil, the power of Demosthenes, the simplicity of Cæsar, the polish of Horace, the sublimity of Homer, the wit of Lucian, the neatness of Epictetus, and the perfection of so many other models of composition; if, in addition to all this, *I held in no estimation* men whose names have been

rescued by admiring multitudes, in every age, from the grasp of death, that fame should preserve them burnished —if the structure of my mind differed so widely from that of the great bulk of my fellow-mortals—and that, considering my own judgment and my own feelings the only tribunal by which I should be guided, I should find myself alone or with few associates; I might claim indeed to be unmolested, though I could not reasonably expect to have that which was esteemed valuable destroyed, because of the singularity of my notions. There is, perhaps, no truth, except a palpable fact or a manifest principle, which has not some opponents; and even here, perhaps, I would be warranted in striking out the exception, for Dagouner denied that there existed a negative proposition; and I have known an ingenious scholar who asserted that all mathematical reasoning was fallacious, because it flowed from first principles that were absurd, viz: the definitions of a point of a line and of a superficies. Hence, the dissent of some respectable men and good scholars, united to the declaration of some unlettered though vigorous-minded writers, weighs, I believe, but lightly against the general testimony in favor of the benefits conferred by an intimate acquaintance with the select writers of antiquity; and those which remain to us are merely a selection from the mighty mass, of which the vastly greater portion has perished. Should I be asked to explain philosophically the process by which the beneficial effect is produced, I will avow that it is as far beyond my power to undertake the specific exhibition, as it would be to demonstrate the special and particular process by which I was nourished and strengthened, and my powers developed by the food which I consumed in my adolescence. I doubt whether any of our medical friends would hazard his reputation by asserting that he could satisfy us upon the subject; or that the most speculative of our inquirers would abstain from food, until no doubt remained as to the correctness and sufficiency of *the demonstration.*

Respecting the tendency of these works to delude and to corrupt the imagination, or to confirm the depravity of the heart, I would beg to make a few observations. To the individual who addresses you, it has caused unmixed astonishment, when he more than once noticed this objection seriously urged, upon the ground of their tendency to gloss over the errors of polytheism and idolatry, and thereby to diminish the esteem in which we should hold the Christian dispensation. I trust that, with some few at least, I shall find credit for the declaration, that, however imperfect my practice may be, there exists not an individual who holds that dispensation in more high esteem than I do. To me it is everything. I value not the wealth, the fame, the science, the honors of the world, as worthy even for an instant to be taken into competition with the least of its appurtenances; and yet from my keenest scrutiny, from my most jealous examination, this danger has hitherto escaped notice. I will not say, that others might not have made the discovery: if they have, God forbid that I should for a moment condemn their rejection of this stumbling-block in the way of truth and life. If I could find in the annals of eighteen centuries a single act of apostasy fairly attributable to this cause, I might hesitate. But I find the earliest and most able advocates of Christianity generally deducing from this topic the very opposite conclusion; and, in several instances, their victory was achieved, and the cause of religion gained glorious accession, by the judicious contrast. I am under the impression that this is only one of those exhibitions in which there is evidenced considerable dexterity in the use of a weapon which is wielded only for exercise or amusement. No, my friends, I cannot think so poorly of the evidences of the Christian faith, as not to feel confident that their polish is made brighter, their temper better proved, and their points better sharpened, by trying them against the defences of opponents. Do forgive me, if I assure you that I am tempted to consider *the man who would* proclaim danger to Christianity

from the perusal of the classics, "would," to use the strong expression of another, "have cried fire in the days of the deluge!" Did I suppose that any one seriously entertained the apprehension I might seriously undertake to show it was groundless.

Their immoral tendency is the next ground upon which it is sought to sustain the objection. If the accusation be intended to apply to the great bulk of the authors, I apprehend that the charge can by no means be sustained. The works may be ranked in two divisions—into various classes: history, orations, harangues, philosophical disquisitions, literary dissertations, and epistles of friendship. These classes form an exceedingly large proportion of the whole. I do not think that I am by any means incorrect in asserting, that, as an aggregate, this collection is as free from immoral tendency as any equal bulk of the most select literary compositions of the present day. The historian of then and now will have to relate instances of gross turpitude and crime, but surely the sacred penman has done the same; and, generally speaking, the great crimes which disgrace our nature are censured as fully and as freely and as eloquently by the ancient classic historian, as they are by the modern. If, sometimes, the man of yore lauds the ambitious, the proud, the revengeful, the unforgiving, such characters are praised also in our own day; the maxims of the Gospel condemn both historians alike, and form a splendid contrast to each, showing that, at both periods, man is naturally the same; and that his perfection arises not from the progress of science, the march of intellect, the accumulation of time, and the wisdom of experience, but from a source different from all these. I am under the impression, that the effusions of Cicero and of Demosthenes might be as safely read as any forensic effort or popular harangue of the last year, within our own States. I do not argue for the perfection *of the philosophy* taught in the academy or in the palace; *but I admire the efforts* of the men, whilst I admit their

mistakes, and would correct their errors, whilst I point them out. I would also, where allowable, exhibit the simplicity and purity of that moral code bestowed by heaven, in contrasting it with the doubts, the conjectures, the imperfections, and the mistakes of those merely human efforts which at once exhibit the strength and the weakness of the human mind; and would establish their moral philosophy as an authentic document, to prove how necessary it was that man should learn his duties immediately from the mouth of his Creator. In the other compositions contained in this division, I feel confident that the closest scrutiny would result in the conviction, that, whilst they show the unchanging principles of literary excellence in the judicious precepts, the correct observations, and the pertinent and apt illustrations which they contain, they are as thoroughly free from any moral poison as the best and purest similar productions of any period or nation.

Another division consists of works of fancy and taste; principally epic and lyric poetry, fables, satires, mythological allegories, and a varied miscellaneous exhibition. I am free to acknowledge, that I know of no language or nation in which productions of this description have not their dangers, and are not, in several instances, liable to serious objection. However, in that portion of the ancient classic authors generally read in the schools, the selection will, I apprehend, be found less objectionable than what is every day in our tongue within the reach of every schoolboy. In the epic poetry, particularly, there is generally not only great delicacy of expression on all occasions, but there are very few instances where either by description or allusion any indelicacy is suggested; and he who would discover any in the portions of these works usually placed in the hands of children, may, without injustice, be supposed better fitted for the search than not only youths, but than the ordinary class of adult readers. I shall give no opinion as to whether so exquisite a tact for such discoveries argues more *in favor of the vigor* of the understanding or the

purity of the imagination. There are no well-regulated schools that I have known in which all the works of any author are read through; selections have been made from several; and the true question is, whether the portions so chosen are of a mischievous tendency. I shall make only two assertions. First, that a superabundance of what is admirable in literary merit, and perfectly innocuous in respect to purity of morals, can be taken from those authors. And, secondly, that, in the course of several years of intimate acquaintance with many schools, I have never known a departure from the principle of confining the pupils to the portions so selected. I might add, that I cannot, after considerable reflection, charge my memory with an instance of moral mischief that I could trace to this system of education; and perhaps my opportunities of observation have been less restricted than those of most of my acquaintance. That objectionable passages might be found in other parts of the same work, or that they were taught in other schools, or that they were read subsequently by the pupils, is no answer to the proposition which I sustain; for I do not assert, that there are no actual or possible abuses; and if I am to abandon every useful object which is liable to abuse, the residue, which I may lawfully take up, will be small indeed!

Far be it from me to say that an ingenious mind could not get up an admirable dissertation to contravene what I advance. I only make a simple appeal to your own memory and to your own judgment.

The care in selecting from the lyric poetry should be far greater, for I am ready to admit that a large portion of it, in Greek and Latin, as well as in English, is of a most censurable character; but I have never known this read in schools, and am decidedly hostile to its introduction. If a satire be a less perfect mode of censuring vice, yet it is a censure; and though there exists a preferable *course* of correction, it does not follow that what is less *good is absolute* evil, and therefore unfit to be perused,

though not under all circumstances the best model for imitation.

The principal ground on which the more numerous body of objections have sought to maintain the position, that morality was injured by the classics, was the assumption that the very essence of mythology is contaminating, by its exhibition of the unbecoming criminal adventures of the principal deities; whereby, not only is vice made respectable, but the imagination is seriously injured by filling the memory with the knowledge of these demoralizing transactions. This topic has, unquestionably, a better appearance of force than most of the others which I have considered; yet, upon examination, it will be found of little value. In such recitals, the good or evil is produced by the mode of representation. The preacher of the most pure morality is frequently employed with great advantage in painting the most revolting scenes of vice, for the purpose not only of holding it up to the detestation of the innocent, but to strike the very profligate themselves with horror at the view of their own likeness, and thus bring them to repentance; whilst, on the other hand, the artful and eloquent destroyer of virtue will succeed in his nefarious projects, by delicately turned allusions, which excite the most dangerous passions, without the employment of a single expression of a revolting character.

Two questions would here present themselves for solution. The first, whether all knowledge of ancient history is to be withheld from future generations. The second, if that knowledge neither can nor ought to be extinguished, whether it can be preserved without an acquaintance with mythology. I apprehend the effort to destroy the knowledge of history would be as useless as it would be unbecoming; as ridiculous as it would be unjust. And I would ask, how any one could seriously undertake to preserve the history of nations, whilst he suppressed all allusions to their religion; or how those allusions could be intelligible *without entering upon the* region of mythology? If, then,

this obliteration of knowledge be neither practicable nor desirable, we must, whether we will or not, examine how it may be communicated, not only with safety, but with advantage. The best things are liable to abuse, and it has frequently happened that what was most sacred has been most perverted. Far be it from me to insinuate that an impure mind has never turned to vile purposes the facts and fictions of this ancient religious delusion, in like manner as such minds have in an impious way perverted the most awful facts and useful institutions of divine truth. The knowledge of mythology, however, is generally, if not always, communicated to students in such a way that, whilst it enriches the understanding, it does not defile the heart; and the exhibition of its folly, when held in contrast with our sublime and perfect religious system, is far from being a mischievous or a useless lesson.

The good Fenelon did not confirm the depravity of his pupil's heart, either when he showed him the dangers of the Island of Calypso, or when he led him through the very temple of the Cyprian goddess. It is, moreover, impossible to have an adequate knowledge of sacred history, without being conversant with that which is profane, and it is out of all question that a person can be master of either, without an extensive acquaintance with mythology. Let us, then, even suppose it to be a burning furnace into which these children must of necessity be cast; the angel of the Lord will be seen walking with them through the very flames; they will be protected by his influence. The knowledge might be conveyed in a manner that would be most destructive; but, the fact is, that such is not the mode in which it is communicated; therefore did I state, that, although the objection had a semblance of force, it would, upon examination, be found of little value.

It has frequently been urged by excellent men, and from the best motives, that education would be as well cultivated by substituting the sacred volume of the Scriptures *for these dangerous* books; that thus, not only would all

apprehension of the evils be removed, but an immense benefit be conferred by the great knowledge conveyed to the mind upon the subject of our holiest obligations, our highest hopes, the great Author of our being, the glorious Redeemer of our race, the purest morality, the most perfect religion, in fact, the great end for which man is permanently destined. It has been stated that if this volume exclusively would not suffice, at least its use would supersede the more dangerous books now in the schools; that, in it, the highest perfection of literature is contained, that its diversified style of simple narrative, historical precision, ornamental description, pathetic prayer, sublime oratory, and impassioned eloquence, make it a copious and never-failing repository of every topic of improvement; and that its parables and poetry, in rich and varied combinations of glowing fancy and elegant expression, are surpassed by no human production, and probably equalled by none.

Whilst the peculiarity of my situation admonishes me to touch lightly, if at all, upon this topic, and the principle which we have always desired should govern our society would preclude much that, under other circumstances, I might urge, I trust that one or two observations might be, without impropriety, hazarded in your presence.

The questions would present themselves to us in the following order: First, whether, as some contended, the Bible should be made in our schools the exclusive text-book for the purpose of acquiring the knowledge of what we call the learned languages. My previous remarks will easily indicate to you the answer that I should give, and in addition to the reasons urged before, it might be added, that the question could be properly resolved into these:— Whether, if it were even possible to understand the contents of this volume, without previous acquired knowledge of considerable extent, all that other information should be withheld; whether, because religion is man's paramount concern, it should be his exclusive occupation; and whether, *the effort to bring the* learned world to this state would

serve the cause of religion itself I shall leave the determination of this to your own unbiased judgment.

I fully assent to all that has been urged in favor of the divine production, though I am not bound to consider it a model of more than human perfection; for whilst I believe all the ideas of the writers to have been regulated by the influence of the sacred Spirit, I am at liberty to believe that the style in which those ideas were communicated, was the natural expression of the individual whom heaven had used as its instrument. And even if it were otherwise, I apprehend that the use of scriptural phraseology, upon the ordinary occasions of life, is not considered the evidence of religious feeling. So that, whilst the sacred volume calls for the pious respect of the good, and is, in a peculiar range, worthy of the admiration of the learned, it is not the archetype for the literary world, nor a model for the compositions of business. Hence, invaluable as is the Bible, for the purposes of religion, I do not consider that it was given for other ends, and I cannot, therefore, believe that it would be useful or expedient to make it a substitute for the classics.

Another question, however, presents itself for consideration—Whether the volume might not be usefully substituted for those which are most dangerous? I would correct the assertion implied in the question itself; for I would place no dangerous book in the hands of the pupil. The true question, then, would be, whether the Bible should not occupy a considerable place in our literary institutions. The answer to this must depend upon a variety of circumstances which greatly vary, in different times and places, and, therefore, no precise general answer could easily be given. The great object of those who advocate its introduction, it will always be found, is, by its means, to impart religious information. The great difference of sects in Christianity arises not so much from a difference as to *what are the* words of the book which they acknowledge *contains the* law, but as to the construction which will

give the correct meaning of the great legislator to whom they profess obedience. If there exists a serious difference between them, as to either the construction of the law, or the existence, or the nature, or the authority of a tribunal from which that construction is to be received; in such a case, if this book be given for their common instruction, we must expect that the several will yield to one, or there will be jealousies, disputes, or estrangement. Experience has taught us that the first result is not to be expected; charity and prudence would guard against the second. Thus, unless all parties were either agreed as to the construction of the law, or the tribunal by which it was to be expounded, I would consider its introduction into a school of different and discordant denominations to be not only a departure from the first principle which the volume inculcates, which is that of charity, but also an impediment to the progress of literature, inasmuch as it would distract the attention from the legitimate objects of the institution to sectarian contests. I cannot avoid viewing the question as more properly one of religion than of literature, and would therefore give my answer upon that principle by which I have always hitherto been guided. Let religious instruction be freely and fully given, at the earliest period, to youth; but never permit the emissary of proselytism to assume the garb of literature as a disguise; when it is intended that religion should be taught, let it be called by its own name —when it is proposed to communicate merely human learning, let nothing else be introduced. If there be no insuperable bar to a union in receiving religious instruction in common, let it be so given; but if, unfortunately, there should be an irreconcilable discrepancy, let not that evil be increased, by superadding those of jealousy and quarrels. Let there, in such a case, be a union in the pursuit of literature—let there be a separation, for the purposes of religious instruction; and in communicating this latter, no one of my *hearers will be* more gratified than will he *who addresses them,* at using all due means to extend

widely the most perfect knowledge of the religion of the Bible. But when he surveys the actual state of our country, he must beg leave to say, that he cannot, in accordance with the principles that he has advanced, arrive at the conclusion, that it would promote the cause of learning to make the book itself a substitute for any considerable portion of the usual class-books. Though he cannot hope for a general acquiescence in his views, he trusts that, in freely expressing his convictions, he will not be considered as outstepping the proper limits of his subject, or intending unkindness to those with whom he might have the misfortune to differ.

I have dwelt upon this subject of classical education as one appropriate to the literary character of our society, not so much from an expectation of your devoting to its concerns any particular or special efforts, but considering that, not only the standing of the individual members, but the aggregate influence of the body, might produce a serious effect upon the public mind; and if the topics I have urged were in accordance with your views, they might, to a certain extent, be enforced by the moral power that you possess in that community to which we belong; and thereby not only would the rising generation be induced to make more progress in this field, but the general cause of literature be greatly aided by your own example, in continuing to cultivate what, though long since sown and thriving, has, perhaps, been only seldom examined, and but lightly tended. And for this object, an excellent opportunity is afforded by those literary exercises which the society has lately resumed.

To what I have urged on this head, I shall take the liberty of adding some observations upon the other branch of our duties as a society.

Philosophy is, properly speaking, the deduction of correct conclusions from evident principles and ascertained facts. *In order,* however, to proceed safely to the results, the *premises must* be secured, and the mighty evil of which

we have to complain, is the great facility with which probabilism, conjecture, and speculation have been substituted for principles and facts. Thus has the region of science been thickly sown with error, and rank weeds have luxuriantly abounded, where order, and beauty, and symmetry should prevail. It is with reluctance that the human mind assents to the evidence of its own ignorance, and even when yielding to the conviction, its vanity urges the concealment from others. Hence, the ambition of man is not so much to be wise and learned, as to be thought so. We are more soothed, even when conscious of our defects, by the delusion which overestimates our acquirements, than we are by the possession of that knowledge for which the world refuses us credit. Probably, the mortification, in the latter case, exceeds the gratification in the former. The discovery of fact, and the establishment of its evidence, do not always form so easy a process as is generally imagined. Let us consider the revolution of the planets, the circulation of the blood, the attractive power of the magnet; not to speak of a vast number of other instances, how clearly do we now perceive facts of which successive generations were so totally ignorant. Let us contemplate their results. Were not several of those results themselves, facts very obvious, and always observed, for which we can now easily account; whose causes, whose origin, and whose nature are perfectly open to our view? Yet, though the results themselves were always ascertained, their origin was not always obvious, their causes were not always known; even whilst the fact was evident, the source was altogether mistaken; but now, owing to more deep research, more accurate observation, and more fortunate circumstances, both cause and effect are equally exposed to our ken. Let us learn a salutary lesson from the history of our predecessors. In their day, those results were known to be facts, but their origin was not then discovered. Still, desirous of appearing learned, the men of that day undertook, not only to declare what they saw, *but, moreover, to explain* the causes and the objects of

those results; and when we read their lucubrations, how are we astonished at their blunders! How do we decry their ignorance, and affect to commiserate their blindness! How do we estimate the superiority of our intellectual powers above theirs! Yet these men were philosophers; they had minds formed by the same Almighty who made ours; they were, in every respect, our equals, but that we have the knowledge of some facts of which they were ignorant—facts discovered and ascertained principally by the men intermediate between them and us. They endeavored, by speculation, to supply the want of actual knowledge, and this want alone constituted their inferiority. They, too, had a knowledge of facts undiscovered by their predecessors; and smiled at the ignorance of those to whom they were as superior, in this sort of information, as we are to them. Are we not destined to pay to posterity, and, perhaps, with usurious addition, the tribute which we have exacted from those at whose ignorance we sneer, and over whom we elevate ourselves, with the importance of our imaginary perfection? Alas! my friends, need I describe to you the feelings which overwhelm us at witnessing the haughty and sarcastic contempt with which a child, who blunders towards reading, regards him who only stammers to spell! Does it not expose to us an emblem of that scene which much of the history of human philosophy presents to those spiritual intelligences that, in their graduated perfection, rise circle above circle, occupying that space which intervenes between man and their Creator?

The great obstacles to correct and useful philosophy, then, are to be found, I believe, in the facility with which our sloth and vanity combine in leading us to substitute speculation for fact, because it requires less industry to form a conjecture than to make a research; in affecting a show of information that we do not possess, and endeavoring to sustain our claim by words without ideas; in rejecting as *useless what* some others have collected lest we should sink *in public estimation*, by turning to account what we or

our colleagues had not discovered; and in decrying our predecessors, instead of profiting by their labors. It is true that the pick or the crowbar would be exceedingly inappropriate tools for giving the last finish of taste to a splendid golden vase; but had they never been used for excavation, the ore would not have been furnished; and what a variety of intermediate hands must be employed between that which first opened the mine and that which finally touches the vessel! The pioneer who commenced the opening of the forest should not be despised by him who subsequently occupies the mansion and enjoys the wealth of the harvest and the luxury of the scene. Human science, like human labor, is progressive, and the peculiar duty of the philosopher, like that of the workman, is to exert himself for the improvement of what he received in a state of imperfection.

I am far from being an advocate for the modern theory of what is called the perfectibility and gradual progress to perfection of the human mind. My observations and reflections have led me to the conclusion, that God has given this lower world, with all its accumulated treasures and productions, as well as the firmament by which it is surrounded, and studded as it is with so many glorious decorations, as a vast field for man's temporal occupation; to search out their several parts, to discover their relations, their properties, their uses, their affinities, their opposition, to turn them to the purposes of his own happiness here; I shall not in this place advert to their uses for hereafter. This investigation, this application, is what I call philosophy. The astronomer who, by his patient and laborious observations and calculations, enables the navigator in the midst of the waste of waters to know his place and to pursue his proper course; the mathematician and the algebraist, who give to the ship-builder, the engineer, and to so many others, the rules by whose observance they can securely attain the useful objects of their pursuit; the botanist who secures to us the benefits of our diversified veg-

etation; the chemist who, by analysis and composition, turns such an immense mass of varied productions to the most extensive account; the physician who applies them to the solace of the human family; the anatomist who, by his almost godlike skill, is able to detect and to remove the obstructions as well as to repair the defects of the animal system; the legislator and the jurist who establish and reduce to practice the great principles by whose operation peace, prosperity and liberty are guarded; they who study to provide and to prepare for use the great articles of sustenance, of clothing, of shelter, of defence, of comfort and convenience for the children of Adam: all these form the vast aggregate of the several classes of philosophy. It is true that the climate, the soil, the productions, the temperament, the habits, the special wants and peculiar tastes of nations greatly vary, and that for these variations considerable allowance should be made; yet in all cases the great principle of philosophy is the same; that is, to extend our discoveries in that range which is subject to our research, and turn the discovery to beneficial account.

From this view, it would seem that the duty of the philosopher was simple, and that, by his faithful attention to its discharge, man must necessarily make constant and rapid progress to perfection; for he has only to pursue what he had received, to add his own observations to those of his predecessors, and to transmit the increased fund to those who succeed him; and since this is what really occurs, why should not man speedily arrive at perfection? The theory is plausible, but history and reflection will correct its fallacy. That the duty of the philosopher has been properly described, I readily admit; but that the specified result should be obtained, it is necessary, first, that all which has been acquired should have been preserved; and secondly, that the point of perfection should not be too remote. The advocates for what is called perfectibility, perhaps, never seriously examine either of these topics.

Let us try this theory of the progress of the mind, or

as it is sometimes called, the march of intellect, by the the test of facts. Think you was the mind of Homer more feeble than that of Milton? Was Virgil or Horace as far below the mental grade of Pope or Dryden, or these latter below Byron or Moore, as their intervened centuries between them? Had the intellect of Demosthenes less vigor than that of Patrick Henry? Or was Cicero twenty degrees upon the scale of forensic merit below William Pinckney or Daniel Webster, or even Baron Vaux and Brougham, the Lord High Chancellor of England? What shall I say of Archimedes and Euclid? Are we to find the proofs of this theory in the legislation of Greece and Rome, in the tactics of Cæsar, in the architecture of antiquity, in the statuary of the remote ages, in the minds that planned and the powers that erected the pyramids of Egypt? It is true that though the energies of the mind be unchanged, the facts upon which they operate may be extended and varied as time advances in his course. In the morning, the little speck, which is scarcely perceptible upon the verge of the horizon, alone breaks the serene uniformity of the vacant fields of air; but as the day advances it ascends and approximates, whilst other collections appear, accumulate, and unite; the pregnant storm shrouds the meridian sun, and envelopes the ocean in its shade, until amidst the echoes of the heavens it is discharged and expires; yet the unchanged observer pre-existed and survives.

How frequently have we witnessed a noble patrimony broken up and scattered by a dissipated heir! How often has the flood or the storm swept away a splendid mansion, and reduced a rich plantation to a desert! How many times has a licentious soldiery or an unruly mob devastated a noble capital in which the wealth of nature and the decorations of art abounded! So, too, has the sloth or luxury of one age dissipated the mental acquisitions of those which preceded it; an incursion of barbarians has frequently swept science from its domain, and

covered the land with ignorance and ruin and despair. When nations are disturbed for the purpose of ambition or the vengeance of disappointment; when the public mind is filled with discontent and indignation; when maddened hosts fly to arms and rush to mutual destruction in the rage of battle; or when the heavy yoke of robust despotism presses upon a crushed people; or when, animated by the spirit of liberty, men rise to assert their rights and to overthrow their oppressors; in times like these, under circumstances of this description, especially before copies of works were multiplied by the introduction of the press, and the few that existed being destroyed by the wantonness of the victor or the indignation of the vanquished, how frequent and how extensive was the destruction of the records and of the collections of the philosopher! Thus has the knowledge of many an ancient art been obliterated. The evidence of their existence, like the remnants of stained glass which are still found in many ancient churches, lets in upon us a soft and mellowed light, which informs us that if we possess knowledge which did not exist amongst men of other days, they enjoyed some which has not reached us; like many a rich cargo that has been lost at sea, it is covered with the waters of oblivion. Who will undertake to assert that the mass of what has been lost does not equal the bulk of what exists to-day? I am far from inclining to the opinion that it does; but I think it would savor of rashness boldly to make either assertion.

But suppose all the ancient discoveries to have been faithfully preserved and the new ones duly transmitted; when will the accumulation fill up the measure of perfection? What is its capacity? Should a myriad of men be continually occupied in depositing grains of sand, when would they form a globe whose axles would touch opposed points in the orbit of Herschel? Let us compare the progress of mind with the progress of motion. If we take our observations upon what was the perfection of the mind *in the Augustan* age and what it is to-day, you may assume

superiority to the fullest extent of your disposition, you will at all events allow that the progress has not been with the rapidity of light. And yet, even with this acceleration, when would you reach those fixed stars that show so dimly in their distance? Yet is the immensity of Him who alone is perfection spread abroad infinitely beyond where their faintest rays terminate in an opposite direction! When do we hope to reach it? I therefore admit that there is abundant room for the continual progress of philosophical improvement, though I cannot subscribe to the fallacious theory of human perfectibility. I allow that there are great incentives for approaching as nearly as we can to perfection, though we can never attain it; like the asymptotes of the hyperbola; He, who alone is perfect, continues in one changeless direction through eternity, whilst, though the created mind, like the curve, should continually approximate as it advances, yet will they never coincide.

There is another circumstance also upon which I desire to observe. Men do not always receive with implicit confidence the principles and facts of whose truth their predecessors were satisfied. The patrimony of the philosopher is not like material wealth, manifestly prepared and made quite available. And to a certain extent, this too is useful. First principles need scarcely an explanation, they readily receive our assent; but it is otherwise with the conclusions to which the ancients have arrived. In some cases our pride, our curiosity, our spirit of independence, our love of novelty, will lead us not only to question and doubt, but to use our efforts to prove them erroneous. This disposition, moderately indulged, has frequently been of the greatest advantage in detecting error, in correcting mistakes, and in protecting truth by the erection of new bulwarks, or of rendering it more bright by collision. When carried beyond its proper limits, it has not only been a waste of time and of energies, but a source of perplexity and error. How many fine minds have been ruined by *this most mischievous practice*? This was the great source

whence flowed that cold scepticism, which, whilst to some it seemed to be an enriching stream of philosophy, chilled the soil and destroyed its prolific power. It was like crystal to the eye, but its taste was of nitre.

But let us suppose the absence of doubts and the disposition to believe. Still, all minds are originally placed alike uninformed at the vestibule of science, and they cannot arrive at the shrine without proceeding through the temple; though the progress of some be more rapid than that of others, yet the advances of all are really slow. No anxiety to admit the truth of a mathematical demonstration will enable the tryo to comprehend it without the tedious preliminary process, though it is true, that when the way has been explored and the road formed, the consumption of time and labor is wonderfully diminished for us, who have the benefit of the works constructed by the preceding occupants; and thus, to a certain extent, we have considerable advantages; but the wealth of the mind cannot be attained without a large expenditure of years and application by the individual himself, let the deposit which has been transmitted be ever so valuable. Add to this consideration, the brevity of life, the variety of avocations, the allurements of pleasure, the duties of religion, the demands of family, the wants of ourselves and of our connections, the claims of the unfortunate, the concerns of the State, the faction of parties, and the vast multitude of other embarrassments; and what then becomes of the fine visions of philosophical accumulation and man's perfectibility? The realities of life correct the delusions of the sophist.

The portion, therefore, which any individual is able to contribute to the general fund, must be exceedingly small; exceptions will be noticed, and are admitted. But if we have our eyes drawn to the admiration of Plato, of Ptolemy, of Copernicus, of Galileo, of Columbus, of Newton, of Bacon, of Locke, of Des Cartes, of Leibnitz, and so many *others, how* many myriads have passed away from whom *no contribution* has been received? It is this poverty of

individuals that renders association useful, because from the difference of tastes there will arise a diversity of pursuits, and mutual exhibition of knowledge will create mutual confidence; each can easily judge how far he might with prudence and safety use the production of his associate, and each will be urged to greater exertions by the example which encourages and the emulation which provokes. Thus the very difficulties which would seem to impede us, should but animate us to proceed.

An additional motive will be found in contemplating the extensive opportunities which offer of increasing our advantages by a communion with similar societies, of which so many are found in the several States of our own Union, not to mention those of other regions of the civilized world.

What, then, should be our object?

In the first place, we must perceive how useful it would be to collect and to embody admitted principles concerning whose truth there is no longer any question; as they have the testimony of ages and nations, after deep and continued reflection: to these might be added those facts whose truth is proved by the same testimony, whether they appertain to history, to geography, to geology, to astronomy, to physiology, or to whatever class of science they may belong. Like the demonstrations of mathematics, they should be sustained by their appropriate evidence, so that, as the student is made acquainted with the fact, he should also receive its proof. How immense has been the loss sustained by the neglect of this simple and natural precaution! It too frequently happens that when we are ourselves convinced, we imagine that no one will be so absurd as to deny that to be true, to which we have given our assent; and we forget that, by our sloth, we have left others without the means that produced our own conviction. Were I asked, what I consider to have been the most efficient cause of dispute in the world, I would probably assign this disposition, which results from a combination of pride and *sloth, causing us to feel* a dissent from our views as an

insult, whilst from others we require assent without furnishing the evidence that would command it. Through want of this, it sometimes happens that fact and fable are, for a while, not distinguishable, and a man of prudence will avoid relying upon that statement of whose truth he has no certainty; the certainty must arise from a proof that is not furnished: upon what ground shall he rest? It is not then sufficient that we leave facts upon record; we should moreover leave record of their proof.

But of what description are these facts, whose knowledge it is so important to preserve? I answer: of every description. It is a serious mistake to imagine that nothing is useful for the purposes of philosophy, unless it has some extraordinary character, is out of the common range of objects, has been procured from some foreign region, or bears some name of learned length and thundering sound. The proper object of the philosopher, as I stated, is to ascertain truth for useful purposes. Now, the objects which are commonly met with are those most extensively applicable to our benefit, and of course, upon the principle which I have assumed, an accurate and comprehensive knowledge of their properties would be extremely advantageous. The wants and avarice of mankind have excited, during many ages, to industry in this department, and perhaps in this the discoveries have been most extensive and accurate. Yet, even here, our daily experience, and the history of other societies, exhibit the vast improvements of every year. The academies of Europe, especially those of France, of Italy, of Germany, and of England, are continually adding much to the stock of science in this department. The analysis and application of the most ordinary materials and productions are still in a march of uninterrupted progress; the arts have been wonderfully improved, facilities and comforts extensively increased, and the resources of man greatly enlarged by the scarcely perceptible labors of individuals, *who, in the* several societies and in mechanical occupations, *guided by the* principles daily imparted and the facts almost

hourly communicated, add some little to the accumulation already made. We do not indeed at present meet one of our exploring associates returning with the evidence that a new continent has been discovered; seldom do we observe a thick vapor to rest upon the troubled ocean, and find upon its thinning away that a new island has arisen; but this incessant addition, by a multitude of individuals, gives to us a more permanent though less showy acquisition in those rising and numerous masses of coral which afford room for secure and solid habitation. They are conquests made by untiring industry from the barren waste of the deep, they are lasting acquirements of new possession, monitions to activity, additions to wealth, and room for population.

There are indeed a variety of facts in what are called the higher departments of science, which are also occasionally developed; and perhaps in no period of some centuries at any previous time, have more facts been brought to light regarding the component parts of this our globe and their properties than within the last fifty years. Within that period also, man has extended his researches far into the regions of the air, and discovered new worlds by the aid of optical mechanism. How wonderfully has the dominion of the chemist been extended, and what power does he exercise through the vast regions made subject to his sway! How fallen, how imbecile, is the once dreaded magician at his feet! We are unable to enumerate the immense quantity of improvements effected in the useful arts by the application of those discoveries. How have the powers of man been increased within that period by the combinations of machinery! And as the events that would have been formerly spread over ages, appear crowded into that petty space; so, too, by our recent discoveries, distance, like time, has been subdued by the moral approximation of remote regions through means of steam and rail.[1] He who fifty

[1] Space has been still more astonishingly annihilated since Bishop England's day, *by the invention of the telegraph*; and we are only in the beginnings of *the wonders of electricity.*

years ago should have ventured to predict these occurrences, would be considered more visionary than he who would presume to describe the mountains and valleys of Saturn's ring. Who can undertake to say what another half century will unfold? He alone whose eye takes in, at every moment, all time and space. To us, the events of the past should be incitements to continued exertion; and though, perhaps, no one of us could devote any considerable portion of his time or of his talent to our common object, yet each, by keeping in view what we seek to attain, may be in some way useful.

Amongst those facts which are specially important to be well known and fully established, are those of natural history; and nothing can so powerfully contribute to this as the possession, the preservation, and the extension of a well-regulated museum. In it the lessons which would be tediously and imperfectly taught by mere recitation and description, are instantly communicated by a glance, they are impressed upon the memory by the gratification of curiosity, they are scientifically classed by the arrangement of rooms and cases. Thus, the mere upholding of such a department in proper order, with occasional public explanation, would be an extensive benefit, not only to our society, but to the citizens, especially to the youth. I shall not dwell here upon that commerce, as I might call it, in science, which consists in an interchange of natural productions of the various regions, by the several scientific societies; for the encouragement of which there appears to be amongst them all an increasing disposition. I am convinced that, upon proper application, every facility would be afforded by our general government for such interchange; and I trust that, whatever our political differences may be, we should find no disposition to nullify this regulation of commerce, or to destroy this species of protection. We might at least innocently, if not usefully, commence by *preparation the manufacture* of some of our native products, and *be allowed* a free trade with all similar societies, for our-

onding returns, not only without the grievance of a
f upon their importation, but even with the bounty of
ee freight in our public vessels. Some of our Medi-
nean squadron would probably feel no inconvenience in
anging a few harmless wild-cats or peaceable panthers,
casts of antique vases or of exquisite statues, or for
e of the utensils of Pompeii or of Herculaneum.
Then the body is torpid for want of exercise the hu-
s become sluggish or stagnate, and disease ensues; if
e be excitement it is feverish, and the consequent
essness irritates and increases the disorder. So it is
the human mind, if it have not some wholesome
loyment, it becomes sickly, irritated, and filled with
ontent; it is easily excited; in the midst of the most
my scenes horrid spectres are presented to the imagina-
, and the consequences are equally pernicious to society
to the deluded individual. How frequently would it
one of the greatest earthly blessings, not only to the
ms, but to their families and connections, if the strong
ers of fine, but, alas! ruined minds had been early
tuated to the healthful exercise of even the humblest
osophical investigation, instead of having been indulged
hat sloth which has made them burdens to themselves,
l of existence, and worrying to their friends! How
y are there, who, in dread or ignorance, turn from the
osophic hall, and, determined at all hazards to escape
horrors of *ennui*, plunge into dissipation! How many,
aps, laboring under the influence of irregular excitement,
municate the frenzy under the semblance of religious
patriotic zeal! When this dreadful malady exhibits
symptoms, it is, perhaps, as hopeless of a cure as
which ensues from the bite of a rabid animal. But
evil might, in a great measure, if not altogether, have
prevented, by removing its cause; and where no more
nt mode demands a preference the occupations of phi-
phy are, perhaps, the most efficacious and the most
l; and, from the view that I have taken, you will
ve that they are within the reach of every individual.

There is another motive that I would press upon every Carolinian. Will you, whilst the rest of the civilized world is pressing forward in the career of science, stand with your arms folded? We do possess considerable facilities for scientific improvement; we have not made of them all the use which they afforded. Perhaps our fault has been, that, in this as in other instances, we have been too sanguine, and that, having commenced with ardor, we yielded to disappointment at not finding, as it were, magical effects flow from our very association. Perhaps we have been, in some degree, ourselves to blame, for want of regular attendance and strict adherence to system. When I look upon the few years that I have had the honor of being your associate I perceive that we had amongst us talents of the first order, zeal for the promotion of science, and deep philosophical erudition. In whom have they been more happily blended and clearly developed, than in that excellent individual who desired to conceal, if he was conscious of possessing them? Need I name our late lamented president, Elliott? But what was the concealment? Not of the knowledge which he communicated, but of the mind from which it flowed. He would veil the radiance that adorned him, yet so as to shed the light which informed and cheered those by whom he was surrounded. Estimable man! The remembrance which he has left, like the disposition with which he was blessed, combines the vigor of one sex with the sweetness of the other. You have heard his eulogy from lips well fitted to pronounce it. I shall not prolong its echo. Have we not seen in our late venerable vice-president,[2] an excellent model of that persevering industry, that patient research, that regular attendance, that extensive knowledge and devotion to the interests of our society, which it would be well if we continued to imitate?

Nor have we been altogether useless. Witness those *admirable lectures* on geology and botany, which, while they

[1] *Doctor James Moultrie, Jr.* [2] Timothy Ford, Esq.

racted the talent and beauty of our city, gave to litera-
re the sanction of fashionable support, and polished and
tended that chaste and cultivated taste which pervades our
st circles. Witness those literary and philosophical exer-
ses, which, by their public occurrence, not only increased
e appetite for knowledge, but also its supply; not for a
lect few, but for all our intelligent population; and the
suming of which, with our lately-increased numbers, prom-
es to render our society more extensively and permanently
eful. This is not the place, nor this the occasion, to
lvert to those other contemplated exertions, which have
casionally occupied our thoughts and engrossed our con-
ersation during the last two or three years. I repeat it,
e have great facilities, were we industrious in turning
em to account. And why should not Carolina indulge
id cherish this holy ambition? This State has held a
gh rank for polite literature; surely she ought to com-
ain of her sons, if, recreant to their patriotic and literary
putation, they degenerate from their fathers, and slothfully
ermit themselves to be surpassed by States which, within
eir own recollection, were only heavy forests, through
hich the Indian and his game could scarcely penetrate.

I do cherish the expectation that they will arouse to
ertion, and in their own sunny land, under their own
rene sky, they will generously climb the hill of science,
id cultivate it to its very top; crowning its summit with
ose useful productions which not only will delight the
e by the richness and delicacy of their color, but will
atify the taste by the excellence of the fruit, and send
rough many leagues on every side, upon the soft yet
acing air, an odorous perfume fitted to regale the home
her children, and to attract the praise and admiration
the stranger.

DESCENT OF ÆNEAS INTO HADES.[1]

In reading the works of poets or others, which are generally styled fiction, perhaps we have been too apt to regard the productions of the best writers as more imaginative than in truth they are. When Horace tells those who would write, either to follow nature, or to invent what would have all its parts in keeping; they who desire to observe the rule, will perhaps find it much easier and better calculated to insure success, to take the first part of the admonition than the second. Probably the great cause why a vast multitude of authors of this description have had so little success, will be found in the fact, that the greater number, in creating their scenery, have consulted their imagination in preference to their observation.

This idea has impressed itself more deeply upon my mind, since I have been led to believe, that the most beautiful and finished pictures of one of the masters of poetry were sketches from nature, embellished indeed by imagination and improved with exquisite taste, and not merely the results of fiction.

Something more than two years have elapsed since, on a beautiful evening in May, I drove out, accompanied by a few friends, on the road leading from Naples towards the ancient Puteoli. When we arrived near the entrance of the grotto of Posilippo, a proposition was made to alight and climb the steep zigzag road leading to the tomb of Virgil. Arrived at the door of the garden in which this mouldering relic is situated, we quickened our pace as we

[1] *This essay first appeared as an article in the Southern Literary Journal, Vol. I. No. 1.*

oubled the windings of the narrow path that, by a long ircuit, leads to this spot of classic interest. We stood ilent within this decaying chamber—we looked around on ts desolate walls and time-worn, vaulted roof, all stained vith the green tinge of successive centuries. A marble lab of comparatively modern sculpture, perhaps placed about wo or three hundred years since in one of the sides, nnecessarily proclaimed, in a crabbed imitation of Latin, hat of which every peasant child was aware, that this hamber was the resting-place of the great Mantuan bard; here what was mortal of the polished Maro had mouldered.

We viewed each other. We looked from the aperture n the side—the bay of Naples spread broadly before us. t was a serene sky; a light air moved along the waters; thin, brown vapor above its summit distinguished Vesu- ius in the distance. We looked down to the road where re had left our carriage; we involuntarily drew back from he precipice, and again advanced to see how diminished o the view were the beings entering or issuing from the xcavated tunnel, as they traveled at such a distance below is, from or towards Naples. The tongue ventured to express few words, and we soon resumed our conversation. We greed that the spot upon which the body of the poet was leposited after death, was one well calculated during life o have excited his enthusiasm, enriched his imagination, nd stored his memory with the materials for description.

A few mornings afterwards, we were seated upon the ndurated lava at the summit of Vesuvius. It was about n hour after the sun had risen; even then his rays were owerful. We were fatigued and heated by the immense abor of climbing the mighty precipice of ashes; vast asses of cinder glowed under us, hundred of fissures mitted hot sulphuric vapor scarcely perceptible to the eye, ut fully sensible to the smell and feeling. Our guides drew om the brown ashes the eggs which they had brought up r their *repast; a very few* minutes had sufficed for their *oking; they found the finest* salt on almost every frag-

ment within their reach. And yet in this region of fire, the gentle temperature of the breeze gradually refreshed and invigorated us. Our faces were turned towards the tomb at the opposite side of the bay. The city, considerably below us, showed on our right like a rich, white margin between the land and water; in a few places this appeared thicker, and advanced a little upon the expanded plain that stretched along towards the Adriatic. The road to Herculaneum, the little town of Torre del Greco, and a number of others, were discernible, and we looked on our left, to try and ascertain the site of Pompeii, through whose desolate streets we had walked but two days previously. The island of Capri rose as a dark mass in what was anciently called the Tyrrhenian Sea, but the eye discerned the horizon of water glittering far beyond it, and we could observe the liquid element spreading to the west and south of Procida and Ischia, to the west from the ridge of Posilippo, the reflection from the waters near Baiæ, seemed like that of liquid silver, and the eye reached towards the north even to Gaeta. One of my companions, on discovering the headland, repeated:

> "And thou, O matron of immortal fame,
> Here dying, to the shore hast left thy name.
> Caieta still the place is called from thee,
> The nurse of great Æneas' infancy.
> Here rest thy bones in rich Hesperia's plains,
> Thy name ('tis all a ghost can claim) remains."

"This was the spot selected by Virgil for perhaps the best and most beautiful of his descriptions," said he, "and surely he could not have chosen a better." We had previously visited the splendid Museum of Naples, in whose numerous and extensive departments so many remains of the genius of southern Italy are collected. We spoke of several that had been lately dug up, after an interment of nearly twenty centuries under the masses of sand and ashes, flung over many a league from that very crater upon whose edge we were then seated. We admired the

genuity, the patience, the industry, the zeal and informa-
n of those scientific men whom we had seen unrolling,
ciphering, copying, supplying the chasms, and preparing
· publication the ancient volume of parchment, reduced
arly to a mass of carbon in the ruins which fiery lava
d created. And turning to one of my friends, who was
inhabitant of Great Britain, I remarked: "These are the
en whom your writers have represented as ignorant, lazy,
iest-ridden Italians, enemies to science and degraded in
perstition!" "I acknowledge," said he, "that our writers
ve, for party purposes, done the Italians the greatest
justice, and at your side of the Atlantic, you are not
ly our rivals, but as you claim pre-eminence in so many
partments, you will not, I am convinced, deny that many
your writers have outstripped us even in this." I could
t make all the concessions he desired. We agreed, there-
re, to leave the pretensions of the United Kingdom and
ose of the United States to be settled by the king of
olland, or by any other arbiter that may be agreed on
· better authorized plenipotentiaries, and we returned to
e discussion of descriptions given by Virgil. Yet this
is connected with the visits we had paid to the Museum,
cause it was there we had first heard of the work of
e Rev. Andrew Jorio, a learned canon of Naples, who
as eminent for his literature as he is for his unpre-
ding piety; it was there we had first learned his opinion,
at the passages contained in the sixth book of the Æneid,
scribing the infernal regions of Tartarus and of Elysium,
ere all suggested to the poet from a spot near Baiæ.
e had there procured the treatise, and were led to dis-
ss its merits, whilst we projected a hasty visit to the
me regions, to pass freely through which, even at this
y, requires the offering of a sprig from the golden branch.
regretted that an indisposition under which he labored,
hilst I was in the south of Italy, prevented my having
e gratification of making the acquaintance of this respect-
le and accomplished scholar, whom I desired much to

know, not only on account of his scientific and literary attainments, but also for his ministerial usefulness. My own time was also curtailed, and I was not able to make all the excursions that I had intended in this most interesting neighborhood. I have, however, attentively perused the work of Canon Jorio, and seen something of the vicinity. Perhaps I could, therefore, with some little prospect of success, undertake to show you, by his description, some of the reasons for the assertion with which I have set out; that the writers who, in works of fiction, found their descriptions upon observation in preference to mere imagination, are those most likely to succeed.

Two facts are incontestable. First, in the fifth book the poet describes the departure of the remnant of the Trojan fleet from Sicily, for the purpose of making a descent upon Italy, and especially, that it was the intention of Æneas to visit the shade of his father in Elysium according to the admonition of Anchises himself, who in line 735 informs him who shall be his guide:

> "The chaste Sybilla shall your steps convey,
> And blood of offered victims strew the way."

It is also certain that his voyage lay nearly west of north from Gaeta to the mouth of the Tiber, and leaving the shore of Cumæ, the closing lines of the sixth book informs us that his way for Gaeta lay directly along shore, of course in nearly a northern direction. These premises lead us, independently of any other consideration, to the discovery of the spot upon which he landed in search of the Sibyl. It was the coast of Cumæ, upon the western side of the promontory which, at the north entrance to the Bay of Naples, puts down about three miles to the south, thus forming the tongue of land which divides the Bay of Puzzoli from the Mediterranean Sea. A difficulty seemed to present itself to a few critics, as some said it was not *Cumæ, but Baiæ*, and this would not lead us to the spot *which, it is* contended, furnished the poet with his topog-

raphy. Cumæ was a settlement of the Eubæans, and only one of the many Grecian colonies that filled the south of Italy, which, as every person at all acquainted with ancient geography knows, was called Grecia Magna. That there was an extension of this colony to Baiæ, which is quite in its vicinity, is pretty certain; hence Dion Cassius and others called the bay of this latter also by the name of the former. In 1822 an ancient Greek sepulchre, similar to those of the settlement at Cumæ, was discovered at Baiæ, which sustains the statement of Strabo respecting the extent of the colony. The headland, which we are about to examine, runs down little more than three miles at the utmost, and is scarcely two miles across. The spot where the poet makes Æneas land is somewhat less than two miles north from the southwestern point of the promontory, over which rises the hill now called Monte di Procida, and which, the canon says, is that described in line 234·

> "And deathless fame
> Still to the lofty cape consigns his name;"

and which derives its name from the burial of Hector's trumpeter. The shore here is free from rocks or cliffs, and is a fine strand. Hence the description of the arrival of the strangers, after the loss of Palinurus, is exceedingly appropriate:

> "He said and wept; then spread his sails before
> The winds, and reached at length the Cuman shore."

Turning to the left from the supposed place of landing, the site of the ancient temple of Apollo is found, at the distance of three-quarters of a mile. Here some remains of a structure are still discovered. Still the spot is called Procea di Cuma, and the peasants call the hill which rises here Monte di Cuma. The poet has certainly embellished the temple erected in a remote antiquity, with sculpture worthy of a better age. Yet it is astonishing to find from *unequivocal proof, furnished* by undoubted works of these

early times, the progress which had been even then made in the arts in those regions. I have seen frescoes which had been nearly three thousand years executed, and which were overwhelmed with rubbish during the greater portion of that time, as clear, as vivid, and as accurate in the outlines of the figures as many which would be admired as good productions at this day. That this temple was erected long before the arrival of Æneas in Italy, there is great reason to believe.

I shall not here inquire concerning the Sybil, but we may, perhaps, examine her supposed habitation:

> "A spacious cave within the farthest part
> Was hewed and fashioned by laborious art
> Through the hill's hollow sides; before the place
> A hundred doors a hundred entries grace:
> As many voices issue: and the sound
> Of Sybil's words as many times rebound."

The present appearance of this cavern certainly does not correspond with the description here given, nor would the description have been at any period perfectly accurate. Much must have been left to the imagination of the poet; all that the canon contends for, ought, I think, to be willingly conceded, which is, that the poet led his hero by this route to the nether world. To any person who has seen the Capitol of Rome, the Tarpeian Rock, the Forum of Trajan, the Arch of Septimius Severus, or any of the excavations by which the "Via Sacra" has been disclosed, little need be said to show how the accumulation of centuries will fill up hollows and reduce the elevations of precipices.

This spot is only a few miles from the tomb of Virgil, and the poet must have frequently strayed along this shore. Nearly two thousand years have passed away since he observed the place, and then it was at least a thousand years after the excavation had been made; and he who had been accustomed to examine such works, and who generally was exact in his descriptions, could at that time form a better idea of what this excavation was. The canon

thinks he only gives us the round number one hundred for several, and conformed to the ordinary notion that the cave was the residence of some supernatural or inspired being, and thus easily made it the dwelling of the Sibyl.

The substance of an interesting archæological dissertation which he gives, is that this, like many other caverns generally thought to be natural, is in truth artificial. Such clearly was Virgil's opinion: "Excisum latus ingens in antrum,"—that the cave was cut into the side of the rock. To sustain this position, the canon brings us to contemplate the customs of the first Grecian settlers, which indeed were similar to those of others similarly circumstanced. Scarcely landed, the first two objects they sought were a dwelling-place and security. No spot on the Cumæn coast offered a more convenient location for the purpose than this—the only rock which is near that part of the shore. Their usual mode was to build with stone, and for this the rock afforded material; its elevation was convenient for security, and this would be greatly increased by so clearing away the projections of the cliff as to make it perpendicular, at least on two or three sides. By the process of paring it off in this manner, they were also furnished with stone for building. They were a patient and persevering race, and though emigrants, they had not the insatiable, migratory spirit of many of our pioneers. Leaving one habitation, they determined to fix upon another as permanent.

Hence they made preparations for centuries of residence, as they built for a progeny through whose generations they considered themselves about to live.

After having given to the rock its faces, they proceeded from the summit to perforate to its bosom, and having descended to a sufficient depth, they excavated several large chambers for the double purpose of procuring materials and of creating a citadel and a store-house. Here, too, they penetrated to the living waters, so that no enemy should be able to cut off a supply. From the interior they *wrought long passages towards* the sides, and at the extrem-

ities they made loopholes through which they might receive air and some light and be able also to reconnoitre and to annoy an enemy

It is acknowledged by all respectable antiquarians that such was the origin of numerous excavations in rocks spread through the south of Italy, and of many elsewhere. Martorelli, upon the authority of Strabo and Ephorus, maintains that several of these were excavations in search of ore. In most of these citadels there was a temple, and generally the shrine of some prophet or prophetess was in the most retired part of the cavern.

In the time of Virgil several of these loopholes were considerably enlarged, and the earth had been gradually raised around the rock, so that the former windows now became so many entrances to the interior, which had probably been once famous as the shrine of some pythoness or perhaps of the great Sibyl herself. At this day some of those apertures exist, though the rock is nearly level with the surrounding accumulation of earth. We have the accounts of St. Justin the martyr and of Agatius the historian, describing this cave.

In 1787 Carletti says he got nearly lost in its labyrinths; but that he saw the remains of the temple and pieces of mosaic work at a spot where several passages united. Jorio himself, in 1811, went through a considerable portion of it, accompanied by a guide; he remained two hours, and found some human remains, which so terrified his companions that they could not be induced by threats or promises to go forward.

So far, then, we have the description accurate in its principal features, but highly embellished by imagination.

At the entrance of this cavern, the hero of the poem is admonished to seek for the information that he desired, and having obtained as much as the poet thought convenient to communicate, he requests to be taught the way to *the infernal* regions.

The lake known as Lago di Averno is little more than

half a mile east of this cavern, but at the time Virgil wrote, the country was more thickly wooded than it is at present, and it was still more so at that earlier period which the poet has selected, nor was the lake to be approached in a direct line; hence the canon supposes that the path to the spot which he indicates as "fauces Averni," must have wound along the valley which lies between the rock we have been describing and the high and rugged ground which surrounds the lake. The Trojan leader, in pursuing this course, would have increased the distance round the northern part of the lake, to arrive at its opposite side, nearly three miles, and this journey was to be made through a forest.

> "Betwixt those regions and our upper light,
> Deep forests and impenetrable night
> Possess the middle space."

In studying the topography, we have no concern with either the death or burial of Misenus, nor with the manner in which Æneas obtains the golden bough which was to insure his return to the realms of day; neither need we witness the sacrifice.

Little more than a quarter of a mile to the southeast of the Lago di Averno is the Lago Lucrino, or ancient Lucrine Lake, so famous for producing some of the luxuries for Roman tables, as also for the naval purposes to which it was destined by Octavianus, and generally for its being more appropriate to recreation than to the fears of those who dwelt or sojourned at Baiæ. A deep valley passed from the Lake Avernus towards the Lucrine. And in this valley the canon supposes that the doves led the hero to pluck the golden bough.

> "Thus they led him on
> To the slow lake: whose baneful stench to shun
> They winged their flight aloft; stopping low,
> Perched on the double tree that bears the golden bough;
> *Through the green leaves* the glittering shadows glow."

The branch having been delivered to the Sibyl and the last rites paid to the body of Misenus, we find Æneas and the prophetess already still farther south than the spot to which the doves had led him to obtain his passport. A large cavern here extends from Avernus nearly to the Lucrine Lake; at present it is seldom passable in summer, but it is opened occasionally in winter, and the entrance at the north was formerly quite overshadowed by woods. This has been appropriately selected by the poet as the entrance to the infernal regions.

"Deep was the cave and downwards as it went
From the wide mouth, a rocky, rough descent;
And here, the access, a gloomy grove descends,
And here the unnavigable lake extends,
O'er whose unhappy waters, void of light,
No bird presumes to steer his airy flight;
Such deadly stenches from the depth arise,
And steaming sulphur, that infects the skies.
From hence the Grecian bards, their legends make,
And give the name Avernus to the lake."

The sacrifice having been offered, the awful portents being manifest, Æneas is warned to draw his sword and to advance into the cavern, whither his guides had already rushed. This the poet calls "primæ fauces Orci," the first jaws of Orcus. The poetical description of the beings who occupied this cavern is one of the best-imagined and best-wrought productions of Virgil; but this is not the place to dilate upon its appropriate excellence.

Issuing from the southern aperture between you and the Lucrine Lake, even at this day, elms are abundant, but formerly they were larger, more numerous, and thickly entangled. The path is in a narrow ravine. On either hand were caverns, many of which were the dens of wild animals and the abode of serpents. In several places the earth has fallen in, and the caves are choked, but still some *are visible on* either hand; and the canon thinks it very *likely, that* about the period when Virgil wrote, this might

have served as a menagerie for the parties who rusticated near the ancient Puteoli or at Baiæ. In either case, the poet had the groundwork upon which his imagination could well indulge itself. The cavern is at present called Bagno della Sibilla, and the *stabula ferarum in feribus* exhibit to us the dwelling-places of the hideous forms that besiege the door and have their dens in its vicinity, and the elm with its dusky arms has to this day remained and made manifest the principle to which I have alluded.

Before proceeding further with the Trojan chief, it will be, perhaps, not amiss to examine briefly an assertion of our learned commentator, that the Styx is not specially described by the poet, but that where the expression does occur in this sixth book it is but a general designation, not a particular appellation of an infernal river. We have, it is true, five lakes within the compass of this peninsula, and there were five rivers of the shadowy regions. Avernus is too plainly marked to allow a doubt of its identity; the Fusaro and the Acquimarta will be easily recognized as the Acheron and the Cocytus; the context and other circumstances will lead us to the Maremorto as Lethe, and the Lucrine Lake alone would remain as the Styx. This river was said to be the daughter of Oceanus; every classic reader is aware that in the days of Homer, and even in those of Virgil, the Bay of Pozzuoli and the contiguous waters were known as the ocean, and when it was agitated by storms, the sea which rolled into this bay broke more easily over the low grounds, and rushed more forcibly through the communication with the Lucrine Lake; so that, in fact, it was in calm times comparatively dry, until the rushing in of the ocean filled, enlarged, and made it permanent. But Jorio says that Virgil had too much taste to say to the ladies and epicures of Rome that this was the infernal Styx—hence, that, through the entire of this book the word is to be taken in its general and not in its particular acceptation, and a review of the several passages will show us nothing incompatible with this opinion. *It is mentioned seven times,* besides the particular passage

which seems to me to create the greatest difficulty. First the prophetess says to Æneas:

"But if so dire a love your soul invades
As twice below to see the trembling shades,
If you so hard a toil will undertake
As twice to pass the unnavigable lake."

"This done, securely take the destined way
To find the regions destitute of day."

"With holocausts he Pluto's altar fills."

"Without whose aid you durst not undertake
This frightful passage o'er the Stygian lake."

"Now nearer to the Stygian lake they draw,
Whom from the shore the surly boatman saw—
Observed their passage through the shady wood,
And marked their near approaches to the flood."

"Know this the realm of night, the Stygian shore,
My boat conveys no living body o'er."

"But fate forbids; the Stygian floods oppose,
And with nine circling streams the captive soul enclose."[1]

Of those passages, the second, third, and fourth clearly have the expression general. The great difficulty would be to reconcile the 323d line and the general statement of the ancients respecting the oath of the gods, with the opinion of Canon Jorio, before we could say that in the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh passages, the expression was also general.

The expression of the Sybil appears to me not only exceedingly distinct, but points to a special circumstance respecting the Styx, than which there is not in all mythology one better and more precisely understood.

"Son of Anchises, offspring of the gods,
The Sibyl said, 'you see the Stygian floods,
The sacred streams which heaven's imperial state
Attest in oaths, and fear to violate.'"[1]

[1] *The following* are the verses cited: 154, 252, 368, 388, 391, 438.

If, however, we will suppose that Virgil, like most other poets, used freely the privileges to which he was entitled, we may then take the Lucrine Lake for the Styx. The traveller passing the *ferarum stabula*, after emerging from the grotto of Avernus, leaving this on his left, proceeds by what is known as the Scalandrone, towards Lago del Fusaro — called by Virgil the Palus Acherusia or "Acherontis ad undas."

Æneas and the Sibyl, having now passed through the dark grotto which lies between the Lago d'Averno and the vicinity of the Lucrine Lake, had issued from the cave into that region which we may now consider as the "Infernal."

From the southern aperture of this cavern there are three roads — one on the left hand leads in a northeast direction to Pozzuoli and Solfatara; with this we have no concern; another, southward of east, leads to the Lago Lucrino and the Gulf of Pozzuoli, the ocean of the ancients; whilst another, nearly south, leads to the Lakes of Fusaro and Aquamorta, which are not a furlong apart, and not more than a mile from the cavern of Avernus, called still Bagno della Sibilla. This is, then, the only road which leads to a spot whence a view might be had of the two lakes, and is, therefore, well described in line 295:

> "Hence to deep Acheron they take their way,
> Whose turbid eddies, thick with ooze and clay,
> Are whirled aloft and in Cocytus lost."

The relative position of the two lakes, neither of which is large, but that of the Aquamorta much the smaller, produces even to-day the same effects that are described. When by the overflowing of the sea or any other cause, the Lago del Fusaro is overcharged, it pours a flood of turbid water, thick with filth and sands, into the Aquamorta or Cocytus, which is one of the most pestilential little mud-holes in this vicinity.

The present road from the Lucrine Lake to that of *Fusaro leads towards the* northern extremity of the latter,

and gives no opportunity of seeing both the supposed Acheron and Cocytus from one point. Jorio, however, gives sufficient reasons to show that the ancient road, which existed in the time of Virgil, had a different direction, and led to a small elevation less than a furlong distant from the southeastern border of the Acheron, whence they are both fully visible, and where the Sibyl might very properly have said:

"Cocyti stagna alta vides, Stygiamque paludem;" [1]

and, indeed, the lake of Fusaro may this day, as well as nineteen centuries ago, be properly called *palus*, as the Aquamorta is most aptly designated by the expression *stagna*.

Upon the borders of the Lake of Fusaro, the poet placed those whom he described as

"The ghosts rejected are the unhappy crew,
Deprived of sepulchres and funerals due."

The crowd here is very great, and amongst them is the lost Palinurus, who most pathetically implores to be relieved, by having his obsequies performed, and receives the assurance from his former chieftain that a day will come when the rites shall be paid, and his name honorably transmitted to future ages.

At the present day, you will easily find a boatman who, occupying a bark at the spot which our canon believes to be the same which Virgil assigned to Charon, will convey the traveler across; though this ferryman must receive a larger fee than the tariff which Pluto fixed as a sufficient remuneration for the grisly boatman of former centuries. However, all this is, perhaps, just, because the modern tourist will be treated with more civility, and is certainly more weighty than a ghost.

Having crossed the lake at a place where it is something less than a half-mile in width, you land at less than that distance from the sea, and upon soil which this day answers the description given by the poet:

"His passengers at length are wafted o'er,
Exposed in muddy weeds upon the miry shore." [2]

[1] Line 323. [2] Line 415.

Turning to the north from this spot, the lake is on the left hand, and the sea within a little more than a furlong on your right, and the high headland of Monte di Procida rises with abrupt rocks before you. But not more than one hundred yards in front of you, is the little hill of Torre della Gaveta, quite near the shore and the mouth of the stream which communicates between the Lago del Fusaro and the sea. Here, in a hill, is a cavern, cut by the early Greek settlers, to form this communication between the lake and the Mediterranean. It has frequently, however, its channel so choked with sand that it becomes necessary, in the end of the spring, to clear and deepen the passage. In this also winds and waters frequently make a fitful noise, and this was the fancied abode of Cerberus:

> "No sooner landed in his den they found
> The triple porter of the Stygian sound,
> Grim Cerberus."[1]

Having given to him his sop, and finding him now spread powerless in sleep:

> "The keeper charmed, the chief, without delay,
> Passed on and took the irremeable way."

The stream here may, without any great stretch of imagination, be called "not to be repassed;" for it is not by this path our hero returns.

Going forward, the traveler now ascends the hill upon which the tower of Gaveta is built, and as he descends towards the southeast, he enters a valley which the poet describes in the succeeding lines:

> "Before the gates the cries of babes new-born,
> Whom fate had from their tender mothers torn,
> Assault his ears; then those whom form of laws
> Condemned to die when traitors judged their cause."[2]

It would be curious and instructive here to enter upon *the examination of the* doctrines of the ancient schools,

[1] Line 417. [2] Line 424. [3] Line 426.

especially that of Plato, concerning the future state; particularly as Virgil, throughout his book, gives a beautiful exemplification of the opinions of that celebrated philosopher. Having ascertained what those doctrines were, the next step would be to trace their origin; to see the sources whence he derived his information; to find how much of his knowledge he drew from the sacred volumes of the chosen people of God, and from the original traditions given by the patriarchs, of the information directly received, concerning the other world, from God himself, by Adam, by Seth, by Enos, by Noe, by Abraham, and others; to view the additions and the changes which mythology had introduced, and to see what beautiful imagery the mind of the poet spread through the description; but this is not our present object. The valley here is just such as you would consider calculated to fill the helpless babes with terror, and to minister to the pensive feelings of the innocent victims of mistaken justice.

Jorio informs us, to sustain the accuracy of his remarks, that if you inquire of the peasants who inhabit Monte di Procida, and particularly that part called Cappo Vecchie, marked by the ruins of Roman buildings, where is the road *de l'inferno*, they will bring you by the winding road to the descent on the side of this outlet of Fusaro, by the tortuous paths going down from crag to crag—they will lead you to the entrance of this valley, and thence through it, by the very way which I am about to describe.

He places, after describing the tribunal of Minos, the unfortunate suicides in the next location on the southern side of the Aquamorta, or Cocytus. We have then the description:

> "Not far from thence the mournful fields appear,
> So called from lovers that inhabit there;
> The souls whom that unhappy flame invades,
> In secret solitude and myrtle shades
> Make endless moans, and pining with desire
> Lament, too late, the unextinguished fire."[1]

[1] Line 440.

After describing a number of the unhappy victims who dwell in this dismal region, Æneas is brought to meet the wretched Dido, who treats him with fixed dislike and deserved scorn. These plains stretch forward better than a furlong, a little south of east from the Aquamorta, and the canon brings to our view the mythological statement that the waters of the Cocytus were increased by the tears of unfortunate lovers, which adds to the evidence of the poet's precision and to the probability of the canon's opinion.

In the last stage of this region, he places the warriors, and takes occasion to describe several of those famed for prowess in the Trojan war, and to introduce the beautiful but concise history of Deiphobus, with its instructive moral.

We now come to a spot which the poet thus describes:

> "'Tis here in different parts the way divides,
> The right to Pluto's golden palace guides,
> The left to that unhappy region tends,
> Which to the depth of Tartarus descends,
> The seat of night's profound and punished fiends."

This spot is little more than half a mile from the Aquamorta, and at present the road divides; on your left, advancing in the way which leads from the supposed cave of Cerberus. When you come to this division, you see a region which is fitted to suggest the idea given of Tartarus by the poet; and keeping the line to your right, you would arrive at those regions that he calls Elysium. To the left is a region bounded on the west by the Acherusian Lake and the muddy and pestilential Cocytus, while the sterile region leading to the den of beasts stretches on before you. Several critics have ridiculed the notion that there could have been in this vile and deserted spot anything to suggest to Virgil the existence of the city of the damned, such as he describes it in this sixth book. But suppose there was nothing which bore an actual resemblance to the *place* described, still it is properly urged

[1] Line 540.

that at least this much latitude should be fairly allowed to the bard, that he might place an imaginary city on the spot. Yet we will not content ourselves with this answer. It can be easily shown that in this region are to be found many of the materials from which such a city could be constructed, and that there was in former days a city upon the very site. Let us, however, look at the description:

'The hero, looking to the left, espied
A lofty tower, and strong on every side,
With treble walls, which Phlegethon surrounds,
Whose fiery flood the burning empire bounds,
And pressed betwixt the rocks, the bellowing noise resounds."[1]

In the first place, this whole region is in a great measure volcanic; and not only here, but at the other side of the Bay of Puzzuoli, the evidences of it are abundant. In this very spot are the craters of two scarcely extinct, though small, volcanoes. No very great stretch of imagination is required to view in their flood of burning lava the fiery stream of Phlegethon, either roaring as it rushes between rocks, or as it bears them along tumbling in its torrent, creating an appalling noise. The peasants will this day point out what they call Fumarole, very distinct tokens of subterraneous fires to the west of the Scalandrone, on the very site of the city of the damned, as described by the poet. Homer informs us that the Phlegethon is discharged into the Acheron and the Cocytus. Virgil was a close student of Homer, and his Phlegethon would naturally flow from the site into the Lago del Fusaro and the Aqua-morta. These volcanoes were probably much more active in the time of Virgil than we find them to-day. Thus, the fiery stream was a natural suggestion.

The walls of the city of Misenus presented themselves here also to the observation of the poet. Even to-day you will find scarcely a space of three hundred yards without the ruins of some ancient Roman structure, some of them of considerable extent, many of them covered with strata

[1] Line 548.

of volcanic matter. You will find several caves and Greek and Roman sepulchres, so that there was sufficient occasion to lead the imagination to a subterraneous fiery prison, the entrance to which was in a citadel surrounded by a flaming river. This was the Tartarean region, or the hell of the poet, which was exhibited to his hero, but into which he did not enter. The fortress was impregnable, and from it issued the cries of the tortured. His guide informed him of the mode of judgment and the dire infliction of vengeance; and the hero saw the gates open, so as to enable him to describe the terrific disclosures that were thus made, and to convery the detail to those who had not been privileged as he was.

"The gaping gulf low to the centre lies,
And twice as deep as earth is distant from the skies.
The rival of the gods, the Titan race,
Here singed with lightning roll within the unfathomed space."[1]

Whoever has been at the Grotto del Cane or in the hot sulphur caverns between Naples and Pozzuoli, is perfectly aware of the effect of the exhalation from this soil. Add to this the volcanic matter, the ruins of ancient tombs, the occasional shakings of the earth, and some notions may be formed of the mythological relations of the restless and tortured Titans, endeavoring to rise and disturbing the soil under which they are buried, so as to create those fissures which emit the stench of their brimstone graves to our upper world.

The concluding lines of the poet, after the enumeration of several of the wretched culprits, are beautiful and highly instructive:

"Unhappy Theseus, doomed for ever there,
Is fixed by fate on his eternal chair,
And wretched Phlegias warns the world with cries,
(Could warning make the world more just or wise,)
Learn righteousness, and dread the avenging deities.
To tyrants others have their country sold,
Imposing foreign laws for foreign gold.

[1] Line 577.

Some have old laws repealed, new statutes made,
Not as the people pleased, but as they paid.
With incest some their daughters' beds profaned;
All dared the worst of ill, and what they dared, attained.
Had I a hundred mouths, a hundred tongues,
And throats of brass, inspired with iron lungs,
I could not half those horrid crimes repeat,
Nor half the punishments those crimes have met."[1]

This was the Tartarus, or hell, into which, as I remarked, the hero did not enter, but with a view and description of which he was favored. The spot from which it was examined was just beyond that described as the division of the roads, "Hic locus est partes ubi se via findit in ambas," and is now called Croce via di Capella. At a short distance beyond it, on the road, is the Mercato di Sabato, where formerly stood a circus, which probably suggested to the poet the following description, given by the priestess:

"The walls of Pluto's palace are in view;
The gate and iron arch above it stands,
On anvils labored by the Cyclops' hands."[2]

We have again, in a single expression of the poet, an admirable coincidence with the site:

"She said, and through the gloomy shades they passed,
And chose the middle path."[3]

Just here, even at this day, the road branches into three parts; that to the right leads to the western extremity of the Mare Morto, where it approaches the Monte di Procida. Mythological writers inform us that Lethe touches on the confines of the infernal regions, a portion of which was in the ravines of this mountain; and thus we may suppose this lake, which is formed by an influx from one of the deep indentings of the Bay of Pozzuoli, is the fabled Lethe itself. On the left, the road leads towards the Scalandrone, and back to Averno. The Spatium Medium *will lead* to the northeastern shore of the Mare Morto, or *Lethe, and* here are the Elysian fields; for again mythology

[1] Line 617. [2] Line 630. [3] Line 633.

›rms us that Lethe stretched along the borders of those ›py regions. This middle path, then, was followed by Trojan chieftain, who having performed the proper trations and duly offered his golden bough by placing over the portal, was admitted.

The difference of the soil and the variety of productions m here a contrast with the gloomy, the sterile, the vol-ic, and the rugged regions through which our way had ı before, and very naturally suggested to the Mantuan 'd those happy lines:

> "These holy rites performed, they took their way
> Where long-extended plains of pleasure lay.
> The verdant fields with those of heaven may vie,
> With ether vested and a purple sky;
> The blissful seats of happy souls below,
> Stars of their own, and their own sun they know."[1]

The melody of the raptured poet now grows richer with increasing grandeur of the scene, and perhaps few de-iptions can be found to equal that which is given in succeeding lines. To observe upon this is not, how-r, our object. After due inquiry he discovers the loved ect of his search; their interview is in the midst of se gentle elevations and the varying undulations which ich this spot. The Platonic system, modified with uliar diversities of the poet's own adoption, is beauti-y unfolded—the mingling of the universal mind with tter in its various modifications, the death of man, and judgment. They who escape Tartarus are generally ›med to a variety of purgations, according to the stains h which they are disfigured:

> "E'en when those bodies are by death resign'd,
> Some old, inherent spots are left behind,—
> A sullying tincture of corporeal stains
> Deep in the substance of the soul remains.
> Thus are her splendors dimmed and crusted o'er
> With those dark vices that she knew before.
> *For this the souls* a various penance pay,
> *To purge the taints* of former crimes away."[2]

[1] Line 637. [2] Line 733.

Of Elysium he proceeds then to say, after some spec descriptions of the previous process of purgation:

> "And few so cleansed to those abodes repair,
> And breathe in ample fields the soft Elysian air." [1]

However, this happiness is not to continue, for t transmigration of souls forms a part of the system:

> "Both these thin airy throngs thy eyes behold,
> When o'er their heads a thousand years have rolled,
> In mighty crowds to yon Lethean flood,
> Swarm at the potent summons of the God,
> There deep the draught of dark oblivion drain,
> Then they desire new bodies to obtain,
> And visit heaven's ethereal realms again." [2]

Thus, numbers who never entered Elysium, but we detained in their state of purgation, were, according to tl philosophical system, sent back with the happy souls animate new bodies. After this view of the poet's noti of Elysium, I shall hasten to compare the few remaini passages with the topography. At the moment when A chises was discovered by his son, the poet describes l situation:

> "But old Anchises in a flowery vale
> Reviewed his mustered race, and took the tale:
> Those happy spirits which, ordained by fate,
> For future being and new bodies wait;
> With studious thought observed th' illustrious throng,
> In nature's order as they passed along.
> Their names, their fate, their conduct and their care,
> In peaceful senate and successful war." [3]

After having gone forward from the Mercato di Saba and stood on one of those pretty swellings of the grou the hollows are exposed to view, and we find Anchi thus occupied in one of those delightful spots, at so distance forward. The Mare Morto is also visible, wi its open strand on the right; and it was to its banks tl they who now pressed forward to re-enter mortal exister

[1] Line 743. [2] Line 748. [3] Line 670.

were approaching, whilst amongst them the great father of the Roman race was surveying his future progeny. Æneas went quickly forward to him, to a spot answering the description, near the northeastern extremity of this lake; and after the first efforts to embrace his parent, Virgil informs us:

"Now in a secret vale the Trojan sees
A separate grove, through which a gentle breeze
Plays with a passing breath, and whispers through the trees;
And just before the confines of the wood,
The gliding Lethe leads her silent flood,
About the boughs an airy nation flew."[1]

And when the visitor expressed his desire to know who they were, the father answers:

"The souls that throng the flood
Are those to whom, by fate, are other bodies owed.
In Lethe's lake they long oblivion taste;
Of future life secure, forgetful of the past."[2]

Mentioning a desire, which he had long entertained, to give to his son the knowledge of his future descendants, he proceeds to unfold that explanation to which I have before drawn your attention, of the process of man's existence and of the Platonic system.

It is here to be remarked, that at this day the scenery at this northeastern part of the lake is described with tolerable accuracy by the passage which has been quoted before the last, if we credit many who have seen and testify it. After the doctrinal communication, if I may so call it, Anchises is desirous to bring under his son's observation the succession of heroes which he had been contemplating, and for this purpose the poet very naturally caused him to bring Æneas to a more elevated spot.

"Thus having said the father spirit leads
The priestess and his son through swarms of shades,
And takes a rising ground from thence to see
The long procession of his progeny."[3]

[1] Line 702. [2] Line 713. [3] Line 722.

This is a spot called Puzzillo, and here the poet tak opportunity of giving, through Anchises, that splendid en meration of those sages and heroes whom he desired celebrate, until the catalogue closes with that sublime a pathetic exclamation which procured wealth and fame f the writer:

> "Oh, couldst thou shun the dreadful stroke of fate;
> Rome should in thee behold, with ravished eyes,
> Her pride, her darling, her Marcellus rise."[1]

A little above Puzzillo are the ruins of ancient va structures, and this day, in the midst of them, is t parish church of St. Anne, the vestibule of which marked by the canon as the spot where stood, in form days, the gate which was selected by our poet as that horn. This is on your right, and a short distance on yo left is Bacoli, not far from the tomb of Agrippina; he was the gate of ivory.

> "Two gates the silent courts of sleep adorn
> That of pale ivory, this of lucid horn,
> Through this pale visions take their airy way,
> Through that false phantoms mount the realms of day."[2]

The Sibyl and her companion having been dismissed Anchises through the ivory gate,

> "Straight to the ships Æneas took his way."[3]

In the very expression, "secat viam," the canon fin evidence of correctness of his illustrations, because the is a short path from Bacoli to the spot where the Troja landed, which cuts straight across the peninsula and angles with the other roads over which we have gone.

> "Then steering by the strand he plows the sea,
> And to Caieta's port directs his way,"—[4]

which could not have been the case from Baiæ, which *at the* opposite side of the promontory from Cumæ a

[1] Line 882. [2] Line 898. [3] Line 900. [4] Line 900.

within the Bay of Pozzuoli; the voyage from which would require the rounding of that cape, and certainly could not be said to go *recto litore;* whereas, from the coast at Cumæ it is a plain direct course, straight along the shore to Gaeta.

I have thus endeavored to give you the principal illustrations exhibited by the learned Italian canon, to show that in this, which is amongst the finest books of descriptive poetry and splendid fiction, the great author was more guided than is generally imagined by a close and patient study of actual scenery. How far I have succeeded in conveying his reasoning, I cannot say; how far I have sustained my position, it is for you to judge.

THE CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON.[1]

THAT it is useful to set aside particular days for the celebration of great events, is sustained not only by the usage of all nations, but by the advantages resulting from that usage. Each succeeding week is, by divine institution, marked by a day made holy. Man is thus reminded of his duties to his Creator; he thereon withdraws from the bustle of worldly occupation, he devotes himself to the contemplation of his eternal destiny, he seeks to discover the means whereby he may secure his lasting happiness. For this purpose he revises his conduct, endeavors to correct his faults, to make progress in virtue, to partake of the benefits of religious observance. He also, by the observance of the day, gives encouragement to his companions, and trains up those who depend upon him, and who are to succeed him, in an acquaintance with the great principles which are to direct their practice, so as to perpetuate the service of God, and to secure the salvation of himself and of others.

That great Being from whom the precept for this observance emanated, was well acquainted with our nature; because He formed us, and was able to regulate and to direct the work of His own hands. The law was enacted to preserve in our memory a recollection of our duty, to enforce its obligation on the understanding, to excite the will to resolve upon its performance, and to interweave an attachment for it with our dearest affections.

[1] Oration delivered before the Washington Light Infantry, at their request, in the Roman Catholic Cathedral Church of St. Finbar, in the city of Charleston, on the 22d of February, 1838, being the thirty-first anniversary of the Company.

though the religious homage of God be our first duty, s not our only obligation. Not only is man destined be an inhabitant of heaven, but he is also doomed to ›urn for a while upon the earth. During that period igned for his pilgrimage here he is surrounded by many es, and subject to several wants, for which he not only bound to provide, but in exerting himself for which rpose he may lawfully seek, especially for those who de-nd upon him, or with whom he is connected, such a easure of enjoyment and happiness as will gratify him ıd them, without endangering that more glorious inherit-nce to which we all aspire.

In his relation to transitory things, man is liable to more mmediate, more vivid, and more lasting impressions from hose things which affect him directly and personally, than rom those which regard him but generally as a member ›f society, and indirectly through that circumstance; just ıs he is more wrought upon by sensible objects and pres-ent enjoyments, than by the invisible things of a future world, and by the remote prospects of happiness or of nisery. Yet it frequently happens in society, as in religion, hat our true welfare depends infinitely more upon what is east calculated to attract our immediate attention or to ›xcite our first or our warmest interest. And upon the ame principle that the Lord instituted His holy day, to orrect this evil as regards religion; so is it useful to ıave certain days set apart, to correct the mistakes of ıuman selfishness, and to convince individuals that their ›wn respective advantages will be better secured by labor-ng together as members of society to promote the general welfare. Hence, civil and political festivals, judiciously regu-ated, are of great advantage to the State at large, and ›onsequently to the individuals who compose the body politic.

That same character of our nation, to which I have alluded, also shows that the bulk of mankind are neces-sarily more affected by those objects that strike their senses,

than by any abstract meditations. Man is not a merely spiritual being; he sees through the eye, he hears through the ear, he tastes by the palate, and so of the other organs of sense. They are the usual channels through which his soul is informed, impressed, or excited, and therefore, by a common usage of our race, on those festive occasions, there are exhibitions to the eye, information by addresses, or excitement by music for the ear, the indulgence of the feast, and other devices of enjoyment; and all are calculated, by a proper and judicious distribution, to produce the happiest effect upon the mind, though, like every other good, they may be abused, and may thereby occasion the most deplorable results.

The mind, also, is much more easily and securely instructed by the contemplation of striking events properly displayed before it, than by any abstruse reasoning or speculative disquisition. In this contemplation, objects are easily grasped by the senses or apprehended by the imagination, and retained by the memory. Hence, festivals are not, whether in religious or civil society, the mere contemplation of abstract principles, but the commemoration of events in which principles are practically and beneficially exhibited.

Man is easily and powerfully wrought upon by the example of his fellows. We would derive little, if any, benefit from attempting a philosophical inquiry into the cause; it is enough that we know the fact; and hence the public good is greatly promoted by holding forth to the world the bright examples of the benefactors of mankind. Not only are salutary emulation and a virtuous ambition thereby created, but the vain excuses of timidity or sloth, when they plead the existence of insuperable difficulties and the impossiblity of success, are at once triumphantly answered, by showing what men like ourselves have achieved; and the noblest human motives to exertion are furnished, by showing the benefits which one man may procure for millions. Whilst the deeds of our honored brother are recounted, we feel an energy for whose origin we cannot indeed account, but

whose effects are powerful and may be highly beneficial. Thus has the roll of fame been inscribed in every age and in every nation, with the names of the wise, of the good, of the learned, of the brave, of the holy, of the devoted, of the laborious, of the benevolent, and of the just. Temples have been erected, cities have been named, monuments have been raised, games have been instituted, festivals celebrated, and a variety of other modes devised, to hold forth their example, and to perpetuate their renown. But in the whole multitude, I find few, who in respect to the peculiar end for which he appears to have been fitted by Providence, stands so honorably conspicuous; not one whose example can be so beneficially held forth as a lesson and a model to the citizens of our republics, as our own Washington. And I undertake the task, which you have so kindly assigned me, with high gratification indeed, for the honor you have conferred upon one whom you have long since thought proper to enroll upon the respectable list of honorary members of your corps, but with a diffidence which is as unfeigned as it is unusual; because the undertaking in which I have engaged is quite new to me, and the theme is as difficult as the subject is elevated.

Though I cannot attempt to delineate the character of the father of our country, I shall endeavor to sketch an imperfect outline, and my deficiency will require all your indulgence.

The date of his birth is well known, the 22d of February, 1732; and that his family was one of repute for a considerable period previous to the departure of his ancestors from England, as his relatives and connections were subsequently amongst the most respectable in Virginia.

I am far from attributing merit to birth, but I am by no means inclined to deny the general influence of station and society upon the education, the sentiments, and the conduct of individuals. Several of the greatest men that have conferred benefit upon the human family, have steadily *risen from the humble position* into which they had been

cast by the obscurity of their origin; and we have numberless instances of the degrading vices, the mischievous pranks, the criminal courses, and the base and unprincipled tyranny, of not only individual members, but of entire progenies of the aristocracy. Unfortunately, also, it is but too true, that instances of the former description are far more rare than of the latter. This, however, does not interfere with the position that I would lay down; which is, that the civilized habits, the polite manners, the more extended information, which are generally found in some classes; the necessity under which their station places them of giving to their children the best education, and the facilities which they have of procuring it; as well as the conviction of the child, that it is only by sustaining himself in his place, by having the manners, the conduct, and the information, which are expected to be found therein, that he can escape degradation and contempt, form a union of powerful aids and incentives to improvement. We need not, therefore, distribute mankind into classes of different blood and unlike nature, in order to arrive at the conclusion, that the circumstance of birth is in many instances favorable to the improvement of the individuals. So far from being injurious to our republican principles of the equality of citizens, and tending to degrade a large portion of the community, I can consider it only as giving more merit to the individuals, who with less favorable auspices have, by the power of intellect, the adherence to principle, and the application of industry, outstripped those who had greater original advantages. I consider the mischievous concession to aristocracy to consist in attaching peculiar privileges to those born in a particular family; but not in the admission, that from the peculiarity of their position they have greater opportunities of improvement.

George Washington was thus at his earliest moments placed in the most favorable position that the circumstances *of the colony* would allow, for the best education that *could be* obtained, from an intercourse with those whose

inds were cultivated, whose principles were established, id whose habits were formed by a good stock of knowlge, by industrious pursuits, and honorable occupation. he schools then existing afforded indeed but little scope or great progress in science. At the period of his father's eath, in 1743, he could read, write, and solve a considerble number of arithmetical questions; and very few schools t that time in the Southern country carried education to higher grade. The character of the mother is generally upposed, and I believe not inconsiderately, to have from ature, even more than from the force of teaching or examle, a powerful influence upon the character of the son. As far as we can learn, Washington was again fortunate n this respect. This widow had been a Miss Ball, and vas the second wife of Mr. Augustine Washington, who, at he time of his death, placed in her a well-deserved conidence of managing a large property, chiefly acquired by is own industry, and of superintending the education of ier children, of whom George was eldest. She continued o keep him at school, and to enable him to acquire such nformation as could there be afforded him.

At this early period, he had obtained over the minds f his companions that moral ascendency, which through fe he was enabled by the very same principles, more ully developed and more extensively applied, to gain over is fellow-citizens and to preserve to the termination of his fe. His love of discipline caused him to be placed at ie head of their little military organizations; his probity nd judgment secured to his awards, as arbiter in their ifferences, a ready and willing execution. His exercises ere such as fitted him for activity and vigilance, and his ove for mathematics and attention to forms of business howed a fondness for order, a patience of toil, a desire f improvement, and steadiness of purpose not often found n a youth of only fourteen years of age.

His eldest brother, *Lawrence*, the first son of Mr. Wash*gton's first wife, was at this* period a respectable officer

in the British forces; he had served under General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon at the siege of Carthagena, and he had acquired with them some influence by his correct and gentlemanly conduct. Lawrence was greatly attached to his brother George; and believing, from what he had seen of his capacity and habits, that he would easily win his way to distinction in the British navy, procured for him, through these friends, a midshipman's warrant, in the year 1746. George, pleased with the appointment, was preparing to enter into a service that, if once taken up by him, would probably have materially interfered with the progress, if not the issue, of a revolution, which amongst the many that have shaken the nations within the last century, stands alike distinguished for the justice of its grounds, the moderation of its proceedings, the wisdom of its process, and the success of its results. A mother's authoritative request was the mode through which this difficulty was removed, by that God who sweetly and powerfully brings about His own wise purposes, without exposing His counsels to the over-curious scrutiny of men.

We have already seen in the boy many traces of what became the character of the man. The eye of the artist discerns in the block of marble the fair proportions of the concealed statue; the material is precious, but much of it must, by patience, by attention, and by exquisite skill, be cut off and pared away, before the majestic figure, which he detects, can be exhibited to the eye of an admiring multitude. Washington may, under God, be considered as having been fashioned by a special providence. At this early period, he had already either laid down or adopted a wise code for the regulation of his conduct. This consisted of one hundred and ten rules, of which Mr. Sparks, his biographer, justly observes: "Whoever has studied the character of Washington will be persuaded, that some of its prominent features took their shape from these rules, thus early *selected* and adopted as his guide." In another place he says of some of them, that they were "fitted to soften

polish the manners, to keep alive the best affections
:he heart, to impress the obligation of the moral vir-
, to teach what is due to others in social relations, and
ve all to inculcate the practice of a perfect self-control."
In studying the character of Washington, it is obvious
t this code of rules had an influence upon his whole
. His temperament was ardent, his passions strong, and,
idst the multiplied scenes of temptation and excitement
ough which he passed, it was his constant effort and
imate triumph to check the one and subdue the other.
s intercourse with men, private and public, in every
lk and station, was marked with a consistency and fit-
ss to occasion, a dignity, decorum, condescension, and
ldness, a respect for the claims of others, and a deli-
te perception of the nicer shades of civility; which was
t more the dictate of his native good sense and incom-
rable judgment, than the fruits of long and unwearied
scipline."

It would be well if the respect that is so justly due to
e father of his country, engaged its children to adopt
e maxims by whose influence he became worthy of their
teem. It would be well if, in place of encouraging a
irit of bad pride, of arrogant self-sufficiency, and per-
tting unchecked rudeness to become a habit, under the
tion of preserving a spirit of independence, parents
uld instill into the minds of their children such maxims;
d by the proper exercise of their authority keep them
thin the restraint of that politeness which so peculiarly
aracterized, perhaps, the least offensive and the most reso-
:e man that the eighteenth century has produced.

At the age of sixteen, he entered upon the laborious
ties of a land-surveyor in a wilderness. The profession,
sides promising to be lucrative, afforded an excellent
portunity for the inspection of new lands and for making
luable purchases. His first excursion was beyond the eastern
leghany range, whither he went in March, 1749, whilst
ater still held possession of the summits of this lofty bar-

rier, rivers were swollen by falling rains and melting snc and his path lay through tangled forests, abrupt precipi uninvaded swamps, and in a region where it was a lux to find a log hut, as a relief from the inconvenience the surveyor's tent. Yet was this, in the order of Pr dence, a suitable preparation for the man who was destir at a future day, to share in the privations and to dir the movements of ill-provided armies, in similar circu stances; and this was the very spot in which he destined to make his first military movements, in the ser of the colony, several years previous to the Revoluti During the three years that he continued thus occupi he had acquired a habit of business, and established character for ability and integrity; nor was he estran from his family, for he was sometimes a welcome inn at the residence of his eldest brother, who now dwelt the banks of the Potomac, at a farm to which he g the name of Mount Vernon, from his affectionate reg t his friend the admiral, and he also visited his moth whom he occasionally aided in the regulation of the fan concerns

When he had attained the age of nineteen, the front of Virginia, which then comprised the present State Kentucky, were threatened by Indian depredations the encroachments of France, whose Canadian possessi stretched along on the west towards Louisiana, and w said to include Indiana, Illinois, and even Ohio. colony of Virginia was laid off into military districts, c each of which was appointed an adjutant-general, with rank of major, who was to assemble and to exercise militia, to inspect their arms, and to enforce the disciplir regulations to which they were subjected. Washington appointed to this office in one of the districts, and that it was now his duty to acquire as perfect a knc edge as possible of the use of weapons, of tactics, and *evolutions.* In the society of his brother and others, *had served* in the wars, he had sufficient opportunities

The death of his brother increased his cares; for the confidence and affection of the dying man, and the high esteem in which George was held by the surviving members of the family and their friends, placed him, though the youngest of the executors, in the administration of an estate which was ultimately, by the arrangement of the deceased, to vest in himself. The military organization of the province was changed, but Major Washington's appointment was renewed; so that he found himself, at a period when very few think of commencing the duties of life, already at the head of a large property, in the administration of an extensive estate, loved by his family, confided in by the public for his integrity, and entrusted by the government with a charge of nearly the first rank and of the highest importance. If we stop to inquire how this occurred, we shall have no difficulty in discovering; for unceasing industry, well-regulated ambition of improvement, proper respect for the established rules of society, immovable integrity, patient endurance of toil, and self-denial which arose from the determination to answer the confidence that was reposed in him, all united to a systematic course of conduct laid down and steadily followed, enabled him to perform with facility, order and success duties that would have otherwise perplexed by their confusion, overwhelmed with their weight, and destroyed in their ruin, the individual who would have rashly undertaken them. Washington has scarcely attained to manhood, and yet his character is already formed, and is extensively and advantageously known. He had labored greatly, he had endured much, he had overcome many a temptation, before he could attain the eminence upon which he already stood. Great efforts are, however, still to be made, that he may preserve his position; but, habituated to labor, to combat, and to overcome—his passions are in his keeping; there is more need of vigilance than of effort; but there must be no relaxation on the part of him who guards so wily and so powerful a foe as strong natural propensities, subdued indeed and

restrained, but yet vigorous, powerful, and seductive. One day's negligence may render unavailing all the achievements of years.

What a lesson, my friends, is this for the youth of our country! What an admonition for parents! Why have we not amongst us more men bearing this true stamp of the nobility of virtue? Because the child is too fond of pleasure, too impatient of restraint; because the parent has false notions of glorious independence, and fondly imagines that lost virtue may be easily restored; because a weak and miscalculating fondness persuades itself that the bridle which restrains from licentiousness destroys that strength which it but directs to a useful and a pleasing course. How greatly preferable is the noble animal, that, trained to the hand, patiently submits to its directions, to the untamed beast that menaces ruin to every one who approaches! The one smells the battle at a distance, and proudly lifts his head, whilst he impatiently paws the ground; yet he rests in his place, prepared but steady. He hears the note of preparation in the trumpet's blast, and he now looks for the onset. At the signal, he bears his rider in the midst of his companions, in safety and in victory, over the ruins of the broken host. He holds back when he is checked; he returns, fatigued indeed, but not exhausted; he is nourished and cared for; he is grateful to his attendants, and, before the rising sun, he neighs to prove his desire for the pursuit of the succeeding day. Woe to him who would enter into battle with the other! Should he not be shaken from his seat, or be carried wildly from the face of the array—he is separated from his troop—he is borne powerless into the thick of his enemies, where he soon falls, the bewildered victim of his own rashness, and to the fury of those who surround him. His corpse is found under the carcass of his worst enemy. Even in death, the cause of his ruin is manifest to that friend who would seek, under *shade of twilight*, to render the last rites to the body of *his associate*. What a picture of the folly of a parent,

and of the ruin of a child! Call you this glorious independence?

In truth, we have now only to contemplate the character thus formed, developing itself as circumstances permit, and becoming more fixed and better matured by experience.

Washington's first public mission was not only of a highly confidential but of an extremely perilous nature. The French had crossed the Northern Lakes, which had been assumed by Great Britain as the natural boundary between their respective colonies. It was suspected that they sought to establish themselves upon the Ohio. A messenger had been sent from Virginia, in the character of an Indian trader, to visit the friendly tribes in that quarter, and to procure accurate intelligence of their disposition and of the French advances. He had returned without having fully accomplished the object for which he was employed, but bringing sufficient information to prove that the fears expressed by the British cabinet to the Governor of Virginia were well founded, and that France was disposed to establish posts within the territory claimed by England. The governor had been furnished with cannon and ammunition, to repel, if necessary, by force, any effort of this description. Not only was it ascertained that troops had descended from Canada, but it was found that others had ascended from New Orleans, and that it was contemplated to lock up the British within a line of posts extending from the lakes, by the Ohio and Mississippi, so as to secure at least all the territory west of this line for the crown of France. The Governor and Council of Virginia resolved, that it would be proper, as both nations were at peace, to send an officer to the French commander, with a request to know by what authority he had advanced, and also to learn what was his object. Major Washington was selected.

"He was directed to proceed without delay to the Ohio river, convene some of the Indian chiefs at a place called *Logstown, make known* to them the objects of his visit,

and, after ascertaining where the French were stationed, to request an escort of warriors to be his guides and safeguard the rest of the journey. When arrived at the principal French post, he was to present his credentials and a letter from the Governor of Virginia to the commandant, and in the name of his Brittannic majesty to demand an answer. He was furthermore to inquire diligently, and by cautious means, into the number of the French troops that had crossed the lakes, the reinforcements expected from Canada, how many forts they had erected, and at what places, how they were garrisoned and appointed, and their distances from each other, and, in short, to procure all the intelligence possible respecting the condition and objects of the intruders.

"Fortified with written instructions to this effect, with credentials and a passport, to which the great seal of the colony was affixed, he departed from Williamsburg, the seat of government in Virginia, on November 31, 1753. The distance before him to the extreme point of his destination, by the route he would pursue, was about five hundred and sixty miles, in great part over lofty and rugged mountains, and more than half of the way through the heart of a wilderness, where no traces of civilization as yet appeared."

With a party of seven companions he set forward, and by climbing, scrambling, fording and swimming, as well as by riding, he reached the Monongahela and Alleghany, at the point where their junction forms the Ohio. His eye soon discerned the peculiar advantages consequent upon the erection of a fort at this spot. It was from the erection of this work the colonists were driven in the subsequent year; it was completed by the French, and called after the name of their Canadian governor, Du Quesne; subsequently retaken by Washington, when it was called Fort Pitt, and at this day has risen to the important rank of an industrious city, Pittsburg. About twenty miles below this fork he called together some Indian chiefs, with whom he entered *into friendly* relations, and formed the acquaintance of

nacharison, or the half-king, who was subsequently his ly and companion. He thence proceeded to the French ost, and was told by the commander, M. de St. Pierre, n a respectful but firm tone, that his troops could not etire, for he had received orders to occupy the place; that his duty was obedience, and that discussion could be had only with those who commanded him. He treated the British envoy with hospitality, and gave him supplies upon his departure; yet, by some means, Major Washington found many impediments to his return, a considerable part of which he had to make on foot with but one companion, carrying on his back his knapsack, containing some papers and his food, with a gun in hand, amidst falling snow and over thickening ice, and having only by great ingenuity and exertion escaped the treachery of some Indians.

Upon his return he delivered the answer of the French commander, and placed his own journal in the hands of the governor; and it was clearly ascertained that a case had arisen in which force must be repelled by force. This journal was not only printed in Virginia, but also by the directions of the English government it was published in Europe, and was highly commended in each place. Major Washington was appointed to command a force of two hundred men, who were to proceed to the Ohio and erec a fort at the spot which he had indicated. Captai Trent was appointed to command one of the companie He was directed to go forward and raise his company l enlisting the traders accustomed to the Indians and t woods; to proceed to the fork of the Ohio, and commer the fort. Washington, at Alexandria, waited to assem the remainder of the troops, to organize them, to col supplies and to send them forward, together with the car to be mounted in the fort.

The Legislature of Virginia, upon its meeting, incr the force to six companies, under the command of C Fry, making Washington lieutenant-colonel. The F *government also authorized* the governor of Virginia

upon New York for two companies of continental troops and upon South Carolina for one. The officers of such companies held their commissions, not from the colonial government, but from the crown, which caused them to claim an exemption from the authority of the colonial officers, and to be regarded more in the light of an allied or auxiliary force, than as men to be commanded. On the 20th of April, 1754, Col. Washington arrived at Will's Creek, which was then the border of civilization, with three companies under his command. Here he learned that Captain Trent's men had been summoned, by an immensely superior French force, to capitulate and retire from the fort which they were erecting. The French having possessed themselves of it, in compliment to their governor called it Fort Du Quesne. Col. Fry had not arrived—Washington's own force was very small—a wilderness was before him, with an opposing army far more numerous, well organized, and already habituated to the country, ready to fall upon him, he knew not at what moment or in what place. He held a council of war and determined to proceed to the erection of a fort upon another spot on the Monongahela. Thus, at all events, would his men be employed, the bane of idleness be removed, and by the constructions necessary for their advance, a road would be opened for those who would follow, whilst they themselves would be at least approaching to the attainment of their object. He sent expresses to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, advising them of his situation, and requesting reinforcements.

As this was his first campaign, I shall dwell upon it; for here we shall perceive his qualities as a commander, as fully developed as will be necessary to exhibit his character in that position. His determination to advance shows none of the rashness or impetuosity of the unthinking brave; it was the result of deliberation and counsel, and *for sufficient* reasons. To retreat would have been a *degrading* abandonment of his duty, a betraying of the

trust reposed in him; it would have stricken a panic into his men, from which they could not be recovered; it would have given to the enemy confidence, time, and undisturbed possession; and would have totally bewildered the colonial councils, whilst the Indians would have been gained over by the French. Did he remain where he was, nearly all these effects would have been equally the result; at all events, his troops would have been idle and discontented; they would have lost all confidence in him, and did they not desert him on the first failure of supplies, insubordination and plunder would have left him despised and powerless, the butt of a mob, not the commander of soldiers. As it was, from the neglect of the commissaries, provisions failed upon their march. Besides the perplexity of this misfortune, he had to overcome the difficulties of exploring his way and of constructing his road. He was, on those occasions, himself the pioneer, who, with a few attendants, penetrated the recesses of the forest, to learn how a swamp might be avoided; or he encountered, in a canoe or on a raft, the perils of an unexplored river, to discover its obstructions or its falls, to ascertain where it was fordable, or where a bridge could be placed. What patience, ingenuity, judgment, and perseverance was necessary for such an expedition! This was the school to which Providence led him, that he might be taught for a period of equal difficulties upon a more extended scale and for a nobler purpose. Not to secure for one monarch rather than for another the nominal and useless sovereignty over the wild hunting grounds, which as Tanacharison, speaking of the French and English, told both parties, "the Great Being above allowed to be the residence for him and his people," but to redeem the people of a continent from the dictation of a distant island, and casting off the bands with which it was sought to confine them, leave them to exercise those faculties and those powers with which God had endowed them, with that freedom which is the right of every nation, and

by whose proper use she can better secure her happiness, than she can by any foreign direction.

As he advanced towards the Monongahela, he received notice from Tanacharison that the French had sent a party out from their fort, who had determined "to strike the English" should they be met with. Soon afterwards he received another message that the French was advanced to within fifteen miles of him. Knowing his situation, he thought it better to choose his field, and accordingly drew his little force to a place called the Great Meadows; and having cleared it as well as circumstances would allow, he threw up an entrenchment, nearly protected on three sides by a stream, and sufficiently distant from the wood to require that an assailant should show his men upon the open ground. He sent out scouts mounted on his wagon horses to reconnoitre; but they returned without having made any discovery. His camp was, however, alarmed during the night; his sentinels fired, and his men were kept under arms till morning. A respectable settler then came in with information that a French detachment of fifty men had been at his place on the previous day, and that he had discovered their tracks within five miles of the camp. In the early part of the next night another express arrived from the Indian, who was within about six miles of the Great Meadows with his people, stating that the French were in his vicinity, and that he had seen two tracks. Within an hour after this arrival, Washington, at the head of forty men, left the camp in the midst of torrents of rain, on one of the darkest nights that could be imagined. The soldiers strayed from the path, frequently lost their way, climbed over fallen trees and opposing rocks, and stumbled over each other; and it took them as many hours to reach the Indian station, as they had miles to pass over. It was nearly sunrise when they arrived.

The occurrence of this day was in many ways remarkable. It was a battle between the troops of two nations *actually* at peace. The force engaged was small, but it

was the commencement of a contest which deprived France of one of her most important colonies, after the vicissitudes of nearly seven years of war. It was the military essay of a young man who was destined to lead the armies of half a continent, struggling for that freedom which it was to achieve, against the efforts of that nation on whose behalf he was now himself engaged; but that freedom was not to be obtained without the aid of that country against which he was then armed. Such are the vicissitudes of human affairs. But this was also, for the character of Washington, an event, the proper understanding of whose circumstances is of peculiar importance. It is the only battle in which he was engaged which even an enemy ventured to point out as unjustifiable carnage.

It was stated in Europe that M. de Jumonville, who commanded, was not an officer sent for a hostile purpose, but an ambassador sent on an errand of a peaceful character; that a rash, impetuous, and inexperienced youth wantonly assailed and cruelly murdered the envoy and his attendants.

Let us examine the case. This statement was made in Europe by the diplomatists of France, at a moment when they were engaged with those of England, apparently seeking to adjust their differences, but really, it is believed, seeking a colorable pretext for war. The French had made their preparations already in America to surround the British colonies, and to confine them, as nearly as they could, from extending to the west. It was, according to the rules of what is called diplomacy, the business of the French agents to create the impression that England had given occasion for their hostile movements, and this occurrence furnished the pretext they sought.[1]

Let us now see Washington's position. Fully aware of the objects of the French, from his previous interview,

[1] *No excuses can absolve the British government from the crime of their iniquitous invasion of the rights of France, whose sons had purchased, by their toil and blood, the territory of the Mississippi valley.*

when he had gone, unaccompanied by a retinue of soldiers, to deliver a letter and to hold a discussion with the principal officer of the force that was making descents and settlements within what the English regarded as their lands, he not only found his remonstrances useless, but he saw the aggressions extended. Commissioned and sent out by his own government, with an armed force, to repel this invasion and to protect its limits, he finds a portion of his command dispossessed of a fort which they had been erecting, his troops threatened with violence if they did not yield. He finds, by the report of his scouts, that an armed band was advancing still farther into his country—that they were hovering about his camp. He is informed by his Indian allies, that their avowed object is to attack the English. His camp is alarmed. By whom? It is true that a few of his men had deserted, but surely deserters are not found lurking round the spot where capture and punishment would be the probable result. He consults Tanacharison. He discovers that this armed band has withdrawn from the common road, which peaceful envoys travel, and lay in a concealed and well-protected retreat, like invaders, and had sent scouts to observe the British position. This fact was ascertained by the discovery of their tracks. Messengers had also been sent back by them to the main body of their force, clearly to carry information, probably to call for an advance of larger numbers. Is he to await the arrival of an army superior in force, and permit the object which he had been selected to accomplish, to be lost? Is he to permit himself to be trifled with and overreached? His ally, who had means of information, assures him that their intention is hostile. There is but one course open for him. He plans the mode of attack, should it be necessary, yet he leaves an opportunity to the others to see and to explain. He advances against the position of the armed invaders. They are discovered; *he is himself* at the head of his little detachment; he *is seen.* The ambassador, of course, will now show his

ol of friendship—will demand protection, and seek to
ı the end of his mission. Washington advances, and he
eceived, not with the etiquette of an envoy, but with
warning of loaded muskets. He is prepared, and the
n is quickly made. The whole effort of the assailants,
such are they to whom he is opposed, is directed
ıst the Virginians; the Indian is left unassailed. If
ommander and ten of his soldiers have lost their lives
e the surviving twenty-two have called for quarter, they
fallen victims either to their duty, if they were
ıies, or to their folly, if they were friends. It is true,
in the pocket of the commander there was found a
torial summons to the English commander, leaving him
only option of retiring peaceably east of the Allegha-
or of being compelled by force to do so. Some of
ambassador's officers asserted, when they were prisoners,
they had never seen the document, and they censured
style. However, they said many other things, which
hington declared not to be facts. The captured men
sent prisoners to Governor Dinwiddie, who approved
Vashington's conduct.

e wrote to the Governor that he was certain of being
ked by a superior force, as soon as the French should
ı what had occurred; that, in his present situation he
d be unable to hold his ground against them. He
l only assure him that he would not be taken by
rise; and would not retreat or surrender whilst the
test prospect existed of being able to make a useful
n honorable resistance. The succors he received were
l; the want of supplies, especially of provisions, was
trying. The distinctions in pay and in rank between
officers of the colony and those of the crown were
rtunate and paralyzing, and would have produced worse
equences but for the good sense, the moderation, and
ly feeling that existed between Colonel Washington and
ain Mackay, *who* commanded, under a royal commis-
the only contingent from another State that took the

field. South Carolina, always ready to take her place in the day of peril and at the post of honor, sent her hundred men to share the sufferings and the dangers of this campaign—which terminated by the capitulation of the colonial troops to a superior force of the French, who, during nine hours, had endeavored, on the 3d of July, to get possession of Fort Necessity;—for so was this hastily erected fortification on the Great Meadows called,—and on the next day its defenders marched out, with the honors of war, to return home. The commander and his soldiers, besides the consciousness of having done their duty, had also the thanks of the council, the burgesses and the public. The prudence, the address, the courage, the patience, firmness, and love of discipline of Washington, were universally acknowledged with well-merited eulogy.

The blunders and the difficulties arising from the arrangements of rank, to which I have before alluded, caused Washington to decline accepting a commission which was offered him by Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, who had been lately appointed by the king of England commander-in-chief of the forces against the French. In declining the offer, he added: "I shall have the consolation of knowing that I have opened the way, when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a superior enemy; and that I have had the thanks of my country for the services I have rendered."

The agency of this man, as he advanced in life, upon a more extended field, in more elevated stations, and amongst persons of more importance, necessarily attracts more attention, and surrounds him with a brighter halo of glory; but the individual is himself unchanged. From the first moment to the last, it is George Washington! Hence it is not my intention to trespass upon your patience by a recital of facts, with which you are well acquainted, nor *by leading* you through those revolutionary fields whose *names* are as familiar to your mouths and to your ears as *household* words.

You know that he accepted the invitation of the brave but unfortunate Braddock, to be one of his military family. I need not inform you of its results. How Washington escaped, on that day which witnessed the almost total ruin of a fine army, I think is attributable only to a special Providence. When the two aids of the general were disabled he alone was engaged in the duty of distributing the orders. He is seen everywhere on horseback, in the hour of carnage, an object easily marked, and by no means unimportant. He wrote to his brother: "By the all-powerful dispensation of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me. Yet I escaped unhurt, although death was leveling my companions on every side of me."

It is true, that in this action, though unexpectedly attacked, and his veteran European soldiers thrown into inextricable confusion, General Braddock and his officers behaved with the utmost courage, "and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order, but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly, shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution worthy of a better fate. They adopted the Indian mode, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the general, who endeavored to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been manœuvering on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled in the annals of modern warfare. More than half *of the whole army,* which had crossed the river in so *proud an array only* three hours before, were killed or

wounded. The general himself received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers fell by his side."

"A report has been long current in Pennsylvania that Braddock was shot by one of his own men, founded on the declaration of a provincial soldier, who was in the action. There is another tradition, also worthy of notice, which rests on the authority of Dr. Craik, the intimate friend of Washington from his boyhood to his death, and who was with him at the battle of the Monongahela. Fifteen years after that event they traveled together on an expedition to the western country, with a party of woodsmen, for the purpose of exploring wild lands. While near the junction of the Great Kanawha and Ohio rivers a company of Indians came to them with an interpreter, at the head of whom was an aged and venerable chief. This personage made known to them, by the interpreter, that hearing Colonel Washington was in that region, he had come a long way to visit him, adding, that during the battle of the Monongahela, he had singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his rifle at him many times, and directed his young warriors to do the same, but to his utter astonishment, none of their balls took effect. He was then persuaded that the youthful hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and ceased to fire at him any longer. He was now come to pay homage to the man who was the particular favorite of heaven, and who could never die in battle."

It is thought that if Braddock had been attentive to the counsel of his Virginia aid, the result would have been different. Washington's sufferings, his services, and his success, when subsequently called from his retirement by his country, to assume the command of the Virginia forces, and to aid General Forbes, served still further, during three years, to manifest his good qualities, and to prepare him better for the great work which he was destined, at *a future day,* to achieve. In January, 1759, after having *resigned his* commission, when he had made his troops

efficient, and had been crowned with success in his enterprise, he prepared to spend the remainder of his days in private life. Upon his marriage he received a great accession to his property, besides being united to a companion whose affection for him and whose domestic virtues exceeded even the meed of reputation which she had obtained for more brilliant though less valuable qualities. Forty years of vicissitudes always showed their mutual regards, not, perhaps, altogether unchanged, but if altered, they were increasing in respect and affection. Whenever his keen sense of public duty allowed him a short respite from his laborious employments, he sought, with renovated eagerness, the cheerful society of his home and the pleasing occupation of superintending his domestic concerns. This proved his unambitious disposition and the excellence of his family circle. Firm and sufficiently forward, when the good of his conntry required it, he was as ready to face her foes in the field as he was to expostulate with her governors when he had to point out their oversight or neglect, as it was frequently necessary, in vindicating what was due to his officers and soldiers, and in requiring what was demanded by his circumstances to insure the attainment of the public safety. He was always ready to sacrifice his own private claims, to forego what were his just recompenses, and to shun public honors. Whilst he was engaged in the field at the close of his services, he was elected by the county of Frederick to a seat in the House of Burgesses of Virginia. Upon his return, whilst attending the session in his place, Mr. Robinson, the speaker, by direction of the assembly, returned thanks to the young hero; but unused to such a position, and confounded at the sound of his eulogy, he stood unable to reply until the speaker relieving him by a still higher compliment, ingeniously added, from the inspiration of truth: "Sit down, Mr. Washington; your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

He was now twenty-seven years of age, and with the

exception of his attendance as a legislator at the sessions of the Assembly, he kept, as far as possible, secluded from public life; occupied at Mount Vernon in the improvement of agriculture, the exercise of a generous hospitality, and finding relaxation in the intercourse with his neighbors and his loved relatives, with respectable and polished strangers whom his early fame had attracted to visit at his mansion. His chief enjoyment was in the domestic circle, and an occasional indulgence in the sports of the field; the excitement, the labor, and the exposure of which had been rendered in a great measure necessary by his previous occupations and habits from his very boyish days. Nor could he refuse the benefit of his judgment and the weight of his integrity to the solicitations of many who preferred in their difficulties being guided by his advice and decisions, to litigating their claims before public tribunals.

I believe we may safely say, that few members of society are more useful than an independent and upright country gentleman, who is thus the protector of his family, the cultivator of the soil, the model of his neighbors for good conduct, the harbinger of peace in contentions, the patriarch, whose feelings of kindly interest are engaged for the welfare of his servants, and who, from a sense of duty, disinterestedly and without any selfish projects or party schemes, devotes a due share of his time and of his attention, in proper place, to the public business of the State. Such was the manner in which twelve or fourteen years of his life now passed away. Such is the way in which he desired it should continue to its termination.

It was, however, not so decreed in the order of Providence. Great Britain undertook to impose taxes without their own consent upon the colonies. The amount was immaterial—the principle was everything. Admit that it may be done to the amount of one cent in the year, what is to restrain the imposition? From the first moment, Washington saw what must be the result if the effort was continued, and he declared it as plainly as he saw it, when

hat declaration was necessary it might be useful. He could carcely persuade himself that Great Britain would persist. He expressed his hopes that she would not; and cherished, s far as he could, that expectation in the bosom of his riends. He knew well that resistance must end in revo- ution; revolution in civil war. He abhorred the desola- ion of his country, the havoc of his people, the thousand evils which accompany and succeed the bloody strife. He ad seen the pomp and circumstance of war. Never did e behold a more glorious and splendid pageant than when Braddock's men deployed in well-set order, and moved orward in brilliant uniform, with shining arms glittering n a radiant sun, on the banks of the Monongahela. But efore that sun was set, their gory limbs, their shattered rms, their mutilated bodies lay in terrible confusion on hat fatal plain; the moans of the dying and the wailings f the wounded were mingled with the blasphemy of the aving and the lamentations and the oaths of the despair- ng. It is the vain braggart who shuns the field where he contest for his country's rights is to try man's prowess, who too frequently makes a vaporing semblance of a vir- ue which he has not; it is often the coward who wan- only provokes brave men to those lists, of which he con- inues to be only a spectator. But that man whose soul s ennobled by true heroism, possesses a heart as tender s it is firm; he is equally ready to soothe and protect a child as he is to oppose and smite a giant; he avoids exciting the bloody fray, whilst honor and justice will per- mit its being declined; but when the battle has become his duty, his arm is indeed nerved and elastic, his eye is keen and discerning, he assails the haughty, but he lifts he suppliant, and he consoles the vanquished. A man who s truly brave is also truly generous; he shudders at the uin of battle, he endeavors to avoid its necessities; but that necessity once established, he unflinchingly performs his duty.

It is not, however, in the bloody field that the work of desolation *is most extensive* or most afflicting. It is there,

indeed, that the first blow is struck; it is there the ruin commences. But though he who lies mangled and festering amidst the heap of victims that have been immolated to the Moloch of war, is now insensible to mortal grief or pain, not so the survivors. Separated as the iron soldier appears to be from everything that belongs to the affections of life and the ties of relationship, still he is a man, and bound to others with the most tender ligaments that twine around the heart. There lies one upon the field—his blood still flows; his wound indeed is mortal, but as yet all his soul is in him. Half elevated, he reclines upon the corpse of a comrade who shared in his toils, who partook of his confidence, who was charged, should he survive him, to bear the token of his affection to one far distant from that scene of carnage. With an effort, he has succeeded in drawing that pledge from the bosom of his friend; and, whilst his arm rests upon his broken musket, what he meant to be a memorial for the wife of his youth, the partner of his affections, the mother of his children, is now for himself inseparably united with her image; it is grasped with a hold which even death will not relax, whilst his swollen and distended eye rests upon it. He heeds not the joyous shout, though it proclaims victory for his companions; the wild tumult of flight is around him, but of this and of every other object on the field, save that one token, he is now regardless. His mind is far away, his recollection is of other years. His wife, his mother, his children, his cottage—these are all present to his excited fancy. He seems for the moment to have some new, though melancholy, existence amongst them. The ebb becomes slow from his side; that gasp is convulsive; he awakes to a consciousness of his state; a petition to his God; an expression of contrition, of resignation, and of hope. His lips quiver as he prays for a blessing on those whom he leaves to the cold charity of a selfish world, as he dies upon what is called the field of glory. A grateful country decks the spot, indeed, with barren laurels, and the cold,

cold shafts of affliction penetrate the hearts of those who lived in the expectation of his return. Who will protect his orphans? Who will soothe the mother? Who will sustain the widow?

Washington had witnessed with aching heart many a scene of this description. Generously did he minister to many a family thus stripped in desolation; and therefore he was not a man to rush thoughtlessly upon a course that he knew must entail such miseries upon his country. He felt deeply the wrongs which the British government was perpetrating; he was one of the first to determine that they must not be endured; but he sought, by petition, by remonstrance, by expostulation, by non-importation, to try whether it was possible to avoid recourse to arms. Yet, whilst he sought to restrain the violence of his friends, he had calmly and deliberately resolved to act and to suffer, and, if necessary, to die in organized resistance, upon clearly ascertained principle, rather than submit to a tyranny whose oppressions would far exceed even the disasters of battle and of death. It is a melancholy choice when one is obliged to take one or the other, in this exhibition of alternatives. It is a great relief when any other mode leaves a probability or even a faint hope, that by patience, by exertion, by time, by moral influence, an amelioration may be obtained, and the horrors of war may be averted. This hope was cherished—this principle was the guiding star of the patriots of the Revolution; and it was not until every ray of parliamentary sympathy was extinguished, and that the royal eye no longer beamed upon the petitions that were laid even at the footstool of the throne, that Washington found himself in the gloom of hopelessness, and that he yielded to the dire necessity of inflicting upon his country the evils of military contest. Still his soul recoiled from it; and fully six years before the Declaration of Independence, his sentiments were expressed to a friend with whom he consulted in the following terms:

"At a time when our lordly masters in Great Britain

indeed, that the first blow is struck; it is there the ruin commences. But though he who lies mangled and festering amidst the heap of victims that have been immolated to the Moloch of war, is now insensible to mortal grief or pain, not so the survivors. Separated as the iron soldier appears to be from everything that belongs to the affections of life and the ties of relationship, still he is a man, and bound to others with the most tender ligaments that twine around the heart. There lies one upon the field—his blood still flows; his wound indeed is mortal, but as yet all his soul is in him. Half elevated, he reclines upon the corpse of a comrade who shared in his toils, who partook of his confidence, who was charged, should he survive him, to bear the token of his affection to one far distant from that scene of carnage. With an effort, he has succeeded in drawing that pledge from the bosom of his friend; and, whilst his arm rests upon his broken musket, what he meant to be a memorial for the wife of his youth, the partner of his affections, the mother of his children, is now for himself inseparably united with her image; it is grasped with a hold which even death will not relax, whilst his swollen and distended eye rests upon it. He heeds not the joyous shout, though it proclaims victory for his companions; the wild tumult of flight is around him, but of this and of every other object on the field, save that one token, he is now regardless. His mind is far away, his recollection is of other years. His wife, his mother, his children, his cottage—these are all present to his excited fancy. He seems for the moment to have some new, though melancholy, existence amongst them. The ebb becomes slow from his side; that gasp is convulsive; he awakes to a consciousness of his state; a petition to his God; an expression of contrition, of resignation, and of hope. His lips quiver as he prays for a blessing on those whom he leaves to the cold charity of a selfish world, as he dies *upon what is* called the field of glory. A grateful country *decks the spot*, indeed, with barren laurels, and the cold,

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to it in a firm but decent manner, by all the colonies, what reason is there to expect anything from its justice?

* * * * * * * *

"Satisfied, then, that the acts of the British Parliament are no longer governed by the principles of justice, that they are trampling upon the valuable rights of Americans, confirmed to them by charter and by the Constitution they themselves boast of, and convinced, beyond the smallest doubt, that these measures are the result of deliberation, and attempted to be carried into execution by the hand of power, is it a time to trifle, or to risk our cause upon petitions, which with difficulty obtain access, and afterwards are thrown by with the utmost contempt? Or should we, because heretofore unsuspicious of design, and then unwilling to enter into disputes with the mother country, go on to bear more, and forbear to enumerate our just causes of complaint? For my own part, I shall not undertake to say where the line between Great Britain and the colonies should be drawn; but I am clearly of opinion that one ought to be drawn, and our rights clearly ascertained. I could wish, I own, that the dispute had been left to posterity to determine; but the crisis is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition that can be heaped upon us, till custom and use shall make us tame and abject slaves."

This, in fact, embodies the whole principle of the Revolution.

Whilst attending a meeting of the first Congress, of which he was a member, he received a letter from a former companion-in-arms, who held a commission in an English regiment then stationed at Boston. The following is an extract from the answer which he sent:

"These, sir, being certain consequences, which must naturally result from the late acts of Parliament relative to America in general, and the government of Massachusetts *Bay in particular*, is it to be wondered at, I repeat, that *men, who* wish to avert the impending blow, should attempt

to oppose it in its progress, or prepare for their defence if it cannot be averted? Surely I may be allowed to answer in the negative; and again give me leave to add as my opinion, that more blood will be spilled on this occasion, if the ministers are determined to push matters to extremity, than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America, and such a vital wound will be given to the peace of this great country as time itself cannot cure or eradicate the remembrance of."

He was also a member of the second Congress, which assembled on the 10th of May, 1775. Blood had been then shed at Lexington and at Concord; the Rubicon was passed, and though no formal declaration had yet been made, still the sword which smote the freemen of New England had severed the tie which bound that colony to the older land of freemen. An expression of John Adams indicated in a way too plain to be misunderstood, that, though her own sons were in the field, and had confidence in their commander, still she would sacrifice sectional pride to general advantage, and that in selecting the commander-in-chief of the continental forces, the name of a Southron, in whose prowess and prudence universal confidence was reposed, would be presented to the Congress. Washington, who had foreseen what he desired to avoid, rose from his place and retired from the house, to leave their proceedings unembarrassed by his presence. A day was fixed for entering into the selection; and on opening the ballot-box, into which that band of devoted patriots had cast their suffrages, not another name was found but that of George Washington. Next day he was found in his place in Congress, as a member from Virginia. When the president officially informed him of his appointment, he rose in his place and signified his acceptance. His words were few and appropriate, but the following expressions show the unchanged features of his character:

"Lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to *my reputation, I beg it may* be remembered by every gentle-

man in the room that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with."

Nor were these mere words of course. His confidential and affectionate letter to his wife shows that he only yielded to a sense of duty, and looked upon the trust as too great for his capacity. How providential that it was so to him it was confided!

You know the history of that war which followed. You have appreciated, as you ought, his prudence, his valor, his courage, his privations and his endurance. You know what materials he had to mould into an army: men, who, in general, bore devoted hearts, but who were unused to discipline, and not always patient of restraint; men whose unshod feet often marked their track with their blood upon the frozen road, and whose tattered garments in the cold of winter showed that they needed all the fervor of their zeal for freedom to keep them warm in its defence. And amongst the ranks of those born in the country many a brave foreigner shared in the toil of the battle and endured the privations of the camp. Washington could see no difference between them in the field, and he made no distinction between them in his heart. Lafayette, Montgomery, Hamilton, Steuben, De Kalb, Pulaski, Manning and Jasper, are no inglorious names upon the roll of heroes of the Revolutionary war. Brightly do they shine amidst that galaxy of sons of the soil from every State of the old thirteen, that clustered in so mighty a multitude around that calm, steady and glowing light that outshone them all, and yet seemed to add to their effulgence. Well did they redeem that noble pledge which was made by men of every religious denomination. It was released, indeed, with the loss of many a life, and with the ruin of many a noble fortune, but by the preservation of their sacred honor. With that honor they also preserved and improved their *liberties*, and unshackled industry from the bonds of *colonial* restriction. To the lovers of enterprise and of im-

ovement, and to those hardy children of labor who prize
›erty, and are ready as they are able to defend it, they
›ened inviting passages to those western lands that have
ready received millions, and are capable of receiving mil-
ons more, to make them teem with wealth and be alive
ith population. But it is not my theme to enlarge upon
hat was endured in securiug to us those advantages.

The character of strategy pursued by Washington, as far
› one so little skilled as I am can form an opinion on
ıch a subject, appears to have been one of the most dif-
cult to execute, yet the best adapted to his circumstances,
ıd, as it proved to be, most successful in the result. At
ıe head of what may be called an unorganized mass
ıther than an army, and the parts of which this collec-
on was composed in a perpetual state of change, by reason
f the short periods of enlistment—without any well-regu-
ıted department of subsistence or of supply—under a gen-
ral administration which had, over thirteen confederated
ıd scarcely formed republics, only that moral control which
ises from common principles and common danger;—with
ıany concealed enemies and hostile partisans in open and
vowed connection with the enemy scattered through the
ınd,—the country itself but thinly settled; its settled por-
ons open and badly provided for defence, intersected by
ırge navigable bays and rivers, without any naval means
f protection;—but on the other hand, his enemy, though
ı possession of the sea, at a distance from his resources,
ıd though highly disciplined and well provided, yet unprac-
ced in partisan warfare and dreading an intricate country,—
Vashington found it to be his duty to turn his whole
ıtention towards the establishment and the maintenance of
iscipline. For this purpose he had not only to exert his
ıthority with great discretion and forbearance towards those
nder his command, but to use all his influence with
ıe several governments, to induce them to correct their
rtsem, *to supply their deficiencies*, to make pecuniary sacri-
es, *and to sustain his* efforts. This was the more diffi-

cult, as, even at such a moment, they indulged to a mischievous extent a jealousy, whose theory was just, but whose application at such a moment was unreasonable. They wished to give to the commander as little power as possible, because they dreaded a military despotism; and thus they sent him, as Sheridan expressed himself upon another occasion, with half a shield and a broken sword, to protect them from their well-armed enemies, lest if the buckler were entire and the sword perfect, he might be tempted in the heyday of victory to smite his employers.

It was not only in establishing discipline that his exertions were required. No man loved his soldiers better than he did, and his letters show the manner in which his soul was wounded at the sufferings they had to undergo for the want of the most ordinary necessaries. Yet, with this bitter feeling, was he obliged, as he calls it himself, to play the hypocrite with them; to impress on their minds the obligation of cheerfully enduring everything for the great cause in which they were engaged. But whilst he thus encouraged them to unite with himself in suffering, he earnestly, though not always successfully, appealed to those who ought to provide for those men who were the only bulwark between them and vassalage.

His was not an ambition of glory. He sacrificed no masses of human beings in brilliant charges, that he might gather laurels from the spot enriched by their gore; or that he might indite despatches filled with periods rounded by the swollen phrases of destruction. He weighed the value of every life entrusted to his discretion, and would shudder at the useless exposure of even one. This course was dictated by prudence as well as by humanity and justice. By a Fabian policy his enemy would be harrassed and worn out, and his supplies would be more rapidly consumed than they could be increased; whilst the American forces would be improving in discipline, accustomed *to action,* confident in themselves, and preserved for those *occasions* when they could be usefully brought into battle.

But when an opportunity presented itself, he made no culation of what it was necessary to sacrifice, whether of ose or of life, to achieve what it would be ruinous or politic to forego; though even on such occasions every caution was taken, not only to insure success, but to ain it with as little sacrifice of life as possible. Stony int, Trenton, and Yorktown are striking instances of this icy.

His affection for his men caused him to feel keenly for se whom the enemy held as prisoners. At first the itish officers undertook to treat them as rebels; indignity, shness, and severe confinement were inflicted, and it s said that these endurances would be followed by an ominious death. In one instance, the British prisoners re marked out by him as victims for retaliation; they re on their march under an escort to the place of conement, when they were overtaken by an express, who nounced that General Washington could not permit himf to do what even the usages of war had sanctioned; t he could not punish the innocent for the guilty, and t he had revoked his order. He appealed to the nobler nciples of the British commander, and frequently succded; but his anxiety and his exertions on this score re unceasing and laborious. Never was his kindly feel- better manifested than when, in order to procure a igation of the suffering of General Lee, who had fallen o the hands of the British, and whom they chose to ard and to treat as a deserter, the Congress decreed t Col. Campbell, who was a prisoner in Massachusetts, l five Hessian field officers at Trenton, should be subed to precisely the same treatment as General Lee; he ote to the president of Congress:

'In point of policy, under the present situation of our airs, this doctrine cannot be supported. The balance of soners is greatly against us, and a general regard to the ppiness of the whole should mark our conduct. Can we agine *that our enemies* will not mete the same punish-

ments, the same indignities, the same cruelties to those belonging to us, in their possession, that we impose on theirs in our power? Why should we suppose them to possess more humanity than we have ourselves? Or why should an ineffectual attempt to relieve the distresses of one brave, unfortunate man involve many more in the same calamities? However disagreeable the fact may be, the enemy at this time have in their power and subject to their call near three hundred officers belonging to the army of the United States. In this number there are some of high rank, and most of them are men of bravery and merit. The quota of theirs in our hands bears no proportion, being not more than fifty at most. Under these circumstances, we should certainly do no act to draw upon the gentlemen belonging to us, and who have already suffered a long captivity, greater punishments than they have experienced and now experience. If we should, what will their feelings be, and those of their numerous and extensive connections? Suppose the treatment prescribed for the Hessians should be pursued, will it not establish what the enemy have been aiming to effect by every artifice and the grossest misrepresentations? I mean an opinion of our enmity towards them, and of the cruel conduct they experience when they fall into our hands, a prejudice which we on our parts have heretofore thought it politic to suppress and to root out by every act of lenity and kindness? It certainly will. The Hessians would hear of the punishment with all the circumstances of heightened exaggeration, would feel the injury, without investigating the cause, or reasoning upon the justice or necessity of it. The mischiefs which may and must inevitably flow from the execution of the resolves appear to be endless and innumerable."

What, then, must have been his feelings when a stern sense of duty compelled him to permit the full execution of the sentence of an ignominious death upon the unfortunate *Andrè*? This is one of those melancholy instances where a man deserving of a better fate is, by the inscru-

table laws of Providence, so involved in the meshes of difficulty, that it becomes impossible to extricate him; and it is not only the eye of pity which weeps, but every noble and manly heart bleeds whilst the blow is struck, which, it is acknowedged, the sternness of justice cannot here be prevented from inflicting. Still, after the lapse of more than half a century, the feeling exits, which will, perhaps, always continue strong;—regret that it was not Arnold who met a well-deserved fate from the hand of the executioner.

Deeply as Washington felt for the privations and wants of his soldiers, he was, however, careful to repress insubordination. Witness the disbanding a large portion of the Pennsylvania line in the spring of 1781, which, though having cause of complaint, yet took an irregular and most pernicious mode of seeking for redress. Still these men, in the midst of their misery, could not be made traitors by the allurements of the British general. They gave up to trial and to execution the emissaries who had the hardihood to enter upon their seduction; and though worn down by toil and privation, they declared that they scorned to be Arnolds. The contagion of insubordination, however, had spread from them to the troops of New Jersey; but Washington was prepared. The mutineers were taken by surprise, compelled to parade without arms, two of their ring-leaders were tried by a field court-martial, condemned, and shot; and the spirit of sedition having been thus laid, the remainder made an unconditional submission and promise of obedience.

The exquisite tact which he possessed was exhibited, together with his spirit of moderation and respect for the feelings of his brothers-in-arms, at the surrender of Yorktown. He had with him General Lincoln, who, in delivering up this our city to the British after a brave resistance, had the mortification of being denied the full honors of war at its evacuation. In place, then, of appearing at the head of the united forces of America and France, with the air of a conqueror, to wear the trophies well won by *his valor, Washington* sacrificed this feeling to one more

noble and more exquisite, but to attain whose gratification is the privilege of few indeed. Lincoln had faithfully discharged his duty, and well merited the recompense which he on this occasion received. The British general, Lord Cornwallis, desired to stipulate for his garrison, that it should march out with all the honors of war and the customary privileges for its officers. Washington would grant only the same that had been allowed by the British general to the garrison of Charleston; and stationed Lincoln in an open space between the respective staffs of the French and the American armies to receive, in their view, the surrender of the British leader with exactly the same formalities that had been observed when he made his own capitulation.

Need I undertake to show that his ambition was his country's happiness, and not his own personal elevation? Advert to the proposal which was made to him at Newburg, where an army appeared but to wait his beck, to protect him in assuming a sceptre and a crown. His reproof contained none of that language of affectation which shows that a refusal is made only because the object appears to be unattainable, or for the purpose of having additional entreaty used to overcome the seeming reluctance of ardent desire

He dearly loved and greatly esteemed the valuable men who shared in his toils and dangers. His big heart distended with unusual emotions, when, on the 4th of December, 1783, he entered the room in New York to bid a final adieu to the principal officers, his companions-in-arms. The tear flowed on each manly cheek; he grasped firmly in succession those hands that had sustained, together with him, their country's cause. The embrace was that of generous soldiers and firm friends; not a word was spoken. They followed him in mute procession to his barge. Being seated in it for an instant, he rose; and lifting his hat, *he waved it;* every head on shore was uncovered; the *splashing* of the oar and its measured stroke alone broke

the silence of the tender, the respectful, the memorable separation of those men, who, in the face of death, had united to secure the independence of our country.

It was on the 23d of that month he presented himself before the Congress of Annapolis; and at the close of an appropriate address, said: "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission and take my leave of all the employments of public life." He placed that document in the hands of the president and withdrew, as he fondly hoped, to repair the ravages which his property must have suffered, and to repose in the bosom of his family after the toils of such a tempestuous absence. It is unnecessary to inform you that he would receive no pecuniary recompense; and here is a copy of the settlement of his public accounts. How he enjoyed and sought for the solace of private life is expressed in his own language to Lafayette:

"I am become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac; under the shadow of my own vine and fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with those tranquil enjoyments, of which the soldier, who is ever in pursuit of fame —the statesman, whose watchful days and sleepless nights are spent in devising schemes to promote the welfare of his own, perhaps the ruin of other countries, as if this globe was insufficient for us all—and the courtier, who is always watching the countenance of his prince, in hopes of catching a gracious smile, can have very little conception. I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk and tread the paths of private life with a heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all; and this, my dear friend, being the order of my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, *until I sleep with my fathers.*"

To General Knox he wrote:

"I am just beginning to experience that ease and freedom from public cares which, however desirable, takes some time to realize; for, strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that it was not till lately I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating, as soon as I waked in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day; and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a public man, nor had anything to do with public transactions. I feel now, however, as I conceive a wearied traveler must do, who, after treading many a painful step with a heavy burden on his shoulders, is eased of the latter, having reached the haven to which all the former were directed; and from his housetop is looking back and tracing with an eager eye the meanders by which he escaped the quicksands and mires which lay in his way, and into which none but the all-powerful Guide and Dispenser of human events could have prevented his falling."

A few years were sufficient to exhibit the imperfection of the bond which held the confederation together in the period of their struggle. It became inevitable that one of two alternatives should be embraced. Either the Union should be dissolved, or a new bond must be devised by which the States would be in truth and in fact united.

The convention was named; against his wishes, George Washington was at the head of the Virginia list. Yet was he by no means unprepared; because foreseeing the possibility of being obliged to sacrifice his inclinations to his duty, he had seriously studied and analyzed the principles of the Lycian, the Amphyctionic, the Achæan, the Helvetic, the Belgic, and the Germanic confederacies; he had also deeply imbued his mind with sound political information, and closely observed the forms of governmental administration. It is not matter of surprise that, by a unanimous *vote, he* was called upon to fill the chair in that assembly; *for surely* none was more worthy to occupy it. Neither

could there be any hesitation when the States ratified the Constitution, and it became the expressed will of the people that it should be their form of government, as to who should undertake the task and have the glory of reducing its principles to practice. They had in the whole Union but one man who was, by universal acknowledgment, "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." And much as we complain of the injustice of the world, and rationally as we look for the recompense of virtue in a better state, still sometimes a mighty instance is exhibited of the good feelings and the sense of equity of a nation, where we may well use the words of the Trojan exile—

"En Priamus! sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi!"

He who would not stoop to be a king upon the suggestion of the soldiers, is raised by the acclamation of the people to be the first President of a free confederation, whose destinies are interwoven with the ruin or the resurrection of a hemisphere.

Assiduous in the discharge of duty, he encourages industry, he extends commerce, he regulates finance, he establishes credit, he organizes the departments, he selects and appoints the officers and superintends their conduct, he establishes the judiciary, he allays jealousies, he commences fortifications, he arranges the army, he perfects treaties, he vindicates the national honor, he gives the example of a high morality, and thus occupied during eight years he sees his country eminent among the nations, and putting forth the germs of a rich prosperity. His work is now, indeed, accomplished; but ere he retires from that station which raised him far above the thrones of emperors, he admonishes his children, for he is, indeed, the father of his country, of the difficulties by which they are surrounded; and with the light of wisdom, the sagacity of experience, and the affection of patriotism, he teaches how these may *be overcome or avoided.* And, now, covered with the bene-

dictions of his country and the admiration of the world, he retired again to private life. There, after a comparatively brief respite from the toils of office, he bowed down his head in resignation to the summons which called him from this transitory state, and passed to another world, leaving after him, not the empty sound of what is called an immortal name, but the mighty monument of that freedom which we enjoy, and the glorious bulwark of that Constitution by which it is protected.

Fellow-citizens, I can speak no eulogy of Washington. Though separated from this world, he lives in the centre of our hearts; his name is a talisman of power, the watchword of freedom, the emblem of patriotism, the shout of victory. It casts around us a halo of glory, for it continues to receive the homage of mankind. There have been many sages, there have been many heroes, there have been many legislators—there is but one Washington.

Gentlemen of the Washington Light Infantry, you may be justly proud of the name under which you are enrolled. But let it be to you, also, a solemn admonition to fulfill your obligations. Our volunteer companies are not formed for the mere purpose of idle show, of vain parade, nor for empty pageantry. The natural and safest bulwark of our country's freedom is a well-organized militia; the chivalry of that militia should be found in the volunteer companies. Yours bears the most glorious name for an American citizen soldier. You should emulate the bravest, the best disciplined, the most patriotic of those marshaled in your country's service. You should endeavor, with the noble rivalship of a soldier's honor, but with a soldier's affection, to permit no other company to outstrip you in the accomplishments of the armed citizen. For your country and its freedom; for your country and its institutions; for your own sunny South and for the whole Union; for its peace and for its rights; for your morals, for your discipline; and, in that discipline the first and the last point, obedience to your officers! Never has your company exhibited

any deficiency in this respect, and, therefore, it has always been efficient and respectable. You glory in the name of American, but you receive as Americans every one whom the laws of your country recognize as such. You have not deserted your posts, because the fellow-conntrymen of him who led your armies to the walls of Quebec placed themselves by your side, to make common cause with you for that land which their acceptance of your conditions made your common country. France, Germany, Ireland, and Scotland muster by your side, and with them you form a band of brothers; uniting, as your Washington has done, your whole force for an irresistible protection. Do not those flags wave over men who love to gather round your stars, to be guided by your eagle? When you volunteered to protect our brethren in Florida, were not the Germans your companions? Did not the Irish penetrate into its swamps? But why do I thus address you? Our generous South has fully imbibed the spirit of our hero; and we know not these mischievous distinctions. A man loves not less the home of his choice, because he recollects the spot where he first breathed. The soldier's contest of emulation is then noble, for it is equally free from the meanness of jealousy, as it is from the folly of miserable and mischievous distinctions. Nor did I need the proof which you have given, by affording me this day's opportunity of addressing you, to be convinced that the Washington Light Infantry possess largely that liberal sentiment which pervades all our companies and most of our citizens.

Thank God, no prospect of war now dims our horizon; but the best security for peace is the power of protection. Upon this principle you should not relax. The best regulated State is liable to unforeseen derangements, and no one can say when an emergency may arise. It is not when action is necessary that training should commence. The knowledge that you are ready will be the security for your repose. It was upon those principles that upwards of thirty years ago this company was formed by one of whom Car-

olina had cause to be proud; one whose talents were made useful by his wisdom; one to whom senates looked for counsel, and in whose integrity a continent confided. William Lowndes, your first captain, your founder, perhaps partook of the moral qualities of Washington in a larger degree than many who have appeared in the councils of the republic since the establishment of our Constitution; and how efficiently the officers who have since its formation been selected have fulfilled the trust which has been reposed in them is sufficiently proclaimed by the comparative smallness of their number. Your memory will easily pass them in review before you.

To you has been confided, by the honored widow of a brave officer, one of the most precious relics of the Revolutionary war. There is the banner that was borne in the gallant charge at Cowpens, on the 17th of January, 1781, when the surge of confusion was arrested and the tide of war turned by William Washington at the head of his dragoons. It then seemed a fiery meteor to the astonished Tarleton, when for the first time the spell of his success was broken, and he saw his veterans lay down their arms at the summons of the intrepid Howard. The glory with which it that day was radiant began to dissipate the gloom under which Carolina sat dejected; animated with hope, she roused herself to new exertion, and her Sumters and her Marions were again more active, more bold and more successful. Again, upon the field of Eutaw, it floated in triumph to the joyous notes of the trumpet which proclaimed the retreat of the enemy from the last struggle by which they sought to keep Carolina in thraldom. "Never has it been disgraced in my husband's possession," was the short speech of Mrs. Washington, when she gave it to your company. The commander of the host that bore it through peril and in victory preserved it as a loved memorial at the termination of the war. General William Washington, *at his death*, left it in the possession of his widow; and *in the decline* of her days that venerable matron knew of

no more valiant and honorable hands to which she could confide its preservation than those of the Washington Light Infantry. Ten years have elapsed since it was presented to you through the hands of that Lieutenant Cross, who held one of the first commissions in your company with Captain Lowndes at the period of your formation, but who had command of the brigade on the day that he attended with Mrs. Washington to present it to your guardianship. When you are marshaled under that banner, with the love of your country in your hearts and her arms in your hands, you will be faithful to the confidence reposed in you—your cry will be "Cowpens," "Eutaw," and "Washington"—your path will be the track of honor and of glory—your history will be found upon the record of fame.

DISCOURSE BEFORE CONGRESS.[1]

MY BRETHREN:—The peculiar circumstances in which find myself placed in this respectable assemblage are to m the cause of some embarrassment; for I look upon th situation in which I stand to be one of extreme delicacy I am the minister of a religion professed by a minorit of our citizens; standing, by the permission of the pasto of a different communion, in accordance with the wish o some of my friends and their associates, members of th legislature of this nation, to address you upon the subject o religion. Whilst I know that I ought to speak freely, also feel that I should avoid any unpleasant reference t those differences which exist between persons professin Christianity, except where the necessity of the case woul demand such reference. And I am fully aware that a I am the first clergyman of the Church to which I belon who has had the honor of addressing you from this cha it must be generally expected that I would rather spea upon some of the peculiarities of my own faith than co tent myself with giving a discourse upon any general topi that, as being common to all, would be to you matter no special interest.

But in order to arrive at the particular ground of th description, it will be necessary at first to examine t general principles of our religion; through these the aven lies, and through that we must proceed. Upon those ge eral principles, I presume, I shall be found to accord wi the great bulk of my auditors, though I cannot hope th

[1] *Preached* in the hall of the House of Representatives of the Congress of t *Uni ed States*, on Sunday, Janua y 8, 1826

they will all agree with me in my details, or rather in my conclusions. I shall then commence by examining what religion is, that from this examination we may arrive at the proper place for making our further inquiry.

Religion is the homage which man owes to God. This, and this only, is religion; everything is embraced in this principle; no detail is excluded from this definition. Man's duty to God is, then, religion. Thus, to know what man's duty is, we are brought to examine his nature. That nature is two-fold—spiritual and corporeal—the spirit superior to the body, more perfect than the body; the first duty of a religious man is to worship God, who is a spirit, in spirit and in truth. But to know how this spiritual worship is to be paid by man to his Creator, we must learn of what man's spirit consists, or rather we must see what faculties it embraces. The first faculty of the soul is the understanding, by which we discern truth from error. Man is bound to worship God by his faculties; his leading duty is, then, to worship God with his understanding; and the great province of the understanding being to discriminate between truth and error, man's primary religious obligation is to labor for the discovery of truth, and to adhere to what he shall have thus discovered. Truth and falsehood are not, therefore, matters of indifference; man's obligation is to adhere to truth and to reject falsehood. The exertion of the understanding for this purpose is then our first, our highest duty; to neglect this is criminal. This investigation for the discovery of religious truth is the duty of every human being; each person is bound to inquire to the best of his power; and he who neglects or overlooks his obligation is inexcusable.

But it is not enough that the understanding is enlightened. It is not for the mere object of being acquainted with speculative truth that he should inquire. The second faculty of the soul is the will; its determinations are formed with perfect freedom; generally upon the knowledge *which has been acquired*; hence the discovery of truth

should be pursued for the purpose of regulating the determinations of the will; and the homage of this faculty is paid to the Creator by continually determining to act according to the law of reason, as it has been discovered after sufficient inquiry.

Moreover, we feel within ourselves, and all mankind testifies to a similar experience, that after such a result we do not always act as we have determined. The allurements of the world in which we live, mutual example, and a variety of affections, desires and passions, interfere between the determinations of the will and the carrying of those resolutions into effect. But it is our duty to withstand those allurements, not to be misled by example; to regulate our affections and desires, to keep our passions in subjection to our reasonable determinations, and thus to do in all things the perfect will of God, which must accord with the great rule of reason.

Man is not wholly a spirit; he is also a material being, having a body and living in a visible world, where his fellow-creatures are also in bodily existence. He owes to his Creator external homage with that body, as well as to pay to the Author of his whole being the worship of all its parts, as to give evidence to others that will at the same time satisfy them of his acting with due respect to the Great Father of all, as also to excite his brethren to religion by his own good example. Pure, unbodied intelligences who worship before the throne of the Most High, in spirit and in truth, pay the homage of their whole being in mere spiritual adoration, because they are altogether and exclusively spiritual in their nature. Man, made less than the angels, bears about him a body which he has received from the Creator of his soul—the dissimilarity of their natures destroys the analogy by which it might be sought to establish, that his worship should *be in all* things similar to that paid by a spirit having *no material* parts joined in his nature.

The plain result of these considerations must be that

is our duty to exert our understanding for the discovery of truth, to frame the determination of our will according to ascertained truth, and to carry those determinations into effect, to bring our affections into accordance with reason, to keep our passions under proper restraint, and to pay to God external homage. This is what we call natural religion: for it is what nature and reason exhibit as our duty.

If God never revealed His will to man, we should have those great principles only for our guidance to the fulfillment of our obligations to our Creator. But two questions naturally present themselves to us: Did God ever make special communications to any of our race? And if he did, could such revelation destroy or weaken the force of the principles of natural religion?

To the last question an immediate answer may be unhesitatingly given. No revelation made by God can destroy or weaken the force of those principles. On the contrary, such revelation must not only be in accordance with them, but would tend rather to strengthen them, and to give more precision to their application. God, the eternal truth, cannot be inconsistent with Himself. Truth cannot be contradictory to truth. Human reason is a spark emanating from the great fire of eternal truth; though extremely limited, yet it has proceeded from the infinite Deity; its slender ray may too often imperfectly exhibit what lies around us in the dark labyrinth through which we journey to the grave; and the same objects would be more fully exposed to view, and more distinctly understood, if the effulgence of the Godhead poured its brilliant flood around. The objects then, by either light, would still continue unchanged, though their appearance would in each case be materially altered. What human reason clearly and fully discovers cannot be known otherwise by the intelligence of God, and His testimony by revelation would still accord with His testimony by human reason; but too frequently we are disposed *to conclude, that* we are well acquainted with what *we very imperfectly know*, and we assert that reason tes-

tifies where it does not. Hence there is created an apparent conflict between what we say our reason testifies, and what we state that God reveals. But the great duties of natural religion are equally enforced by both. If we should find that God did make a revelation, there will not be anything found in that revelation to weaken the principles of natural religion. The first principle of each is, that man is obliged to exert himself for the discovery of truth. In a state of mere nature we would have only the testimony of our own reason; in a state of revelation we have the additional aid of the testimony of God. Although the one is more extensive and more perfect than the other, still there can be no conflict between them. Daily experience ought to convince us how limited is our knowledge. Yet our pride urges us to think that we can be acquainted with even the secrets of the Godhead. We certainly are not, and cannot be bound to believe without such evidence as will be sufficient to satisfy his mind. That evidence must be the exhibition of truth to our own reason, or our perfect satisfaction that we receive the testimony of God. Without this evidence no man is bound to believe. The humblest individual who walks the earth has not been subjected by his Creator to any dominion which can enthral his intellect; he stands before his Maker as independent in his mind as does the brightest intelligence which scans the perfections of the Deity, and glows in the raptures of his vision. It is true that we are made lower than the ministering spirits who surround the throne of heaven. Yet we are not made subject to them. Nor is any man's mind made subject to his fellow man. But we all are upon this ground made originally equal; all bound to believe God when He speaks, all bound to admit His infinite knowledge, to testify to His unerring truth, and to pay the homage of our submission to His declaration. Every creature must bow every [illegible] the Creator, but to the *Creator* alone. Thus we find the fundamental principles of *revealed* religion to be, that man is bound to pay to God

the homage of his understanding by believing Him when He makes a revelation. This belief is faith; that is, the belief, upon the testimony of God, of truths or facts which unaided human reason could not discover. And since we should exert ourselves to discover truth, we cannot be excused from making the inquiry as to whether God made a revelation, and if He did what were His communications? Nor can it be to us a matter of indifference whether we take up truth or error for regulating the determinations of our will. If it was not beneath the dignity of God to stoop for the instruction of man, it cannot be a degradation for man to raise himself to learn from his Creator. It is his duty to learn and to obey. The view then given by us of revealed religion is that it consists in believing God when He teaches us, and in obeying Him when He commands us, and of course adhering to His institutions. Whatever is the necessary consequence of this great principle we say is religion. Anything which is not embraced in this, is not religion. It may be superstition, it may be fanaticism, it may be infidelity, it may be folly; but it is not religion. Faith, then, is not folly, it is not abject slavery of the mind, it is not visionary fanaticism, it is not irrational assent to unintelligible propositions; but it is believing upon the testimony of God what human reason could not discover, but what a provident and wise Deity communicates for the information of our minds and the direction of our will.

And surely there are a multitude of truths which are known to God, and whose discovery is yet beyond the reach of our limited faculties. We are surrounded by mysteries of nature; we observe innumerable facts, not one of which has yet been explained, and many of which would be almost pronounced contradictions, although known to be in co-existence. Man is himself a mystery to man—yet the God who formed his body, and created his soul, plainly sees and *distinctly* understands all the minute details of *the wonderful machine of his* body, and is well acquainted

with his vital principle; the nature and essence of the soul are within His view. He is lifted above the heavens; His days are from eternity to eternity; He pervades all space; His eye beholds the worlds which roll in the firmament, and embraces the infinite void; all things which exist are exposed to His vision; whilst man, the diminutive speck upon a spot of creation, scarcely distinguishes the objects which dimly show within his confined horizon: shall he presume to say that nothing exists beyond the narrow precincts of his temporary prison? Or, if the God of heaven declares some of the riches which lie scattered through His works; if He vouchsafes to inform us of His own nature or of ours, that our relations may be more specifically understood; our hopes more clearly founded; our zeal better excited; our determinations better regulated, and our acts more suitably, and simply, and satisfactorily directed; shall stunted little man presume to say that perhaps he is deceived, because he has only the testimony of God, but not the testimony of his own reason? Does not his own reason tell him that God neither can be deceived, nor can He deceive His creatures? Thus his own reason informs man, that the testimony of God making a revelation, is the very highest evidence of truth—the surest ground of certainty.

It might sometimes happen, that what is found to have been testified by the Deity contradicts what would appear, to some individuals, to have been ascertained by the process of their own reasoning. Our principle is plain; God cannot err, man frequently has erred, and is perpetually liable to mistake. If, then, we have certain proof of the declaration of the Creator, there can be no difficulty in arriving at the reasonable, the practical, the correct result; that result is again our great principle—it is the duty of man to believe God when He testifies; and the simple *inquiry* will be regarding the question of fact, "Has God *testified?*" If He has, our doubts must cease; our belief *is demanded* by reason and by religion. Indeed, they w

ver opposed to each other; upon patient inquiry they ll always be found mutually to aid each other. The his- y of the world presents to us the exhibition of the akness of the human mind—perpetually changing its ories; perpetually adding to its stock of information; fre- ently detecting its own mistakes; correcting its aberrations, d proving its imbecility, whilst it asserts its strength. ie eternal God, infinite in His perfections, is always the ne; in Him there is no vicissitude; alone, changeless idst a changing universe; His vesture and decoration He y change, but He is eternally the same, in His knowl- ge as in His truth; the heavens and the earth may ss away; but His word cannot fail.

We are thus brought to the simple inquiry concerning fact of a revelation. The truth of a fact must be ays ascertained by testimony: that testimony must be h as ought to be sufficient to produce conviction of th, before belief can be reasonably required. When that ficient testimony has been adduced, to withhold belief uld be unreasonable—unreasonable rejection of evidence, ere there is no question as to the revelation of God, not be innocent. The refusal to examine is plainly ainst the first principle of religion; contrary to the plain- maxims of reason. A mistake honestly made is par- nable, but the rejection of evidence must be irreligious.

In examining whether revelation has been actually made, are met by a variety of preliminary difficulties, before are permitted to enter upon the evidence of the fact; t I should hope that a few plain observations would ily remove them. As I give but a very imperfect out- e of the ground of proof respecting this head, my object ing rather to hasten forward to some specialties regard- g that particular Church in which I have the honor of ing a minister, than to dwell upon the general ground ich is common to us all, they must be few. But there a *philosophy, which* endeavors to stop our progress at *pass. Philosophy did* I call it! No—I was wrong to

dignify it with that appellation. It is a species of perplexing sophistry, which, clothing itself in the garb of rational inquiry, asks a thousand questions, to which neither itself nor philosophy can answer with satisfaction. They are questions which bewilder the mind, but cannot assist the understanding; they are fully sufficient to show the weakness of our reason, and to teach us to distrust ourselves because of the imperfection of our faculties. But urged too far, they might force us to conclude that we should make no exertion, because we are not omnipotent; that we should make no inquiry, because we cannot elucidate all that is dark; that we can have no certainty, because there are some cases of doubt; and that we have no information, because there is some knowledge beyond our reach. That certainly does not deserve the name of philosophy which would only fill the world with doubts, and conjectures, and probabilities, instead of knowledge of fact founded upon evidence of testimony. Sophistry, having led you from your plain path and bewildered you in a labyrinth, by turns smiles at your folly, sheds the tear of mocking condolence for your degradation, and sneers at your baffled efforts to extricate yourself. Calm and dignified philosophy unfolds to you the plain evidence of facts; and having fully established the truth of the fact, draws thence the irresistible conclusion; thus leading in a way in which even fools cannot err. This is the path of religion.

I may be asked, when will man know that he has evidence of fact; and how shall he know it? There are some questions which are more plainly answered by our conviction than by any induction. The feeling of the evidence is so strong that we can, by the very expression of the feeling, testify to others what they know, because they too feel as we do, and they know that we should, by any attempt at inductive proof, make perfectly obscure that *which,* without this effort, would be fully and confessedly *evident.* Ask me how I know that I have evidence of *light* being now diffused around me; how you have evi-

dence that I now address you; how we all have evidence of our existence; who will undertake, by any process of reasoning, to produce a stronger feeling of conviction than exists by the very feeling of the evidence? Nor have we any form of expression which would carry more conviction to the mind than that which announces the feeling itself; each individual will know when that feeling exists within him. No speculation will aid him to the knowledge of the fact; and where the general testimony of mankind is given to the existence of this feeling, it cannot but have an intimate connection with truth. If it had not, the God who formed our nature, such as it is, would have placed us under a delusion from which we could not be extricated; and the assertion of this not only would destroy every criterion by which truth could be distingushed from error, but would be blasphemy against the Creator of the universe.

Let us come to view how we ascertain the fact of revelation. If there is any special work which is so peculiarly and exclusively that of an individual, as that it can be performed by no other, the fact of the existence of that work establishes the fact of his presence; and if his presence is a testimony by him of his concurrence in declarations then made, he is reponsible for the truth of those declarations. We believe miracles to be works above the power of created beings, and requiring the immediate presence and agency of the Divinity, and given by Him as the proof of His commission to the individuals or societies whom He makes witnesses to men of truth revealed by Him. The feeling of the miracle being evidence of His presence for this purpose, is so general, and its testimony so fully given by the human race, as well by their spontaneous declaration as by their whole course of conduct, that it would argue in our Creator Himself a total disregard for man's information, if He permitted its existence during so many centuries, and with such inevitable results, unless *it were* a criterion of truth. The same *consequences would* necessarily follow from a permission, on

the part of God, of a general delusion of mankind as to the species of works that were miraculous. When the feeling generally existed, and was acted upon most extensively during a long series of ages, that works of a peculiar description were emphatically miracles, and that the performance of those miracles was an undoubted proof of God's presence to uphold the truth of the declarations made in His name by the agents or the instruments used in these works: the Author of our nature would be chargeable with aiding in our delusion, if He did not, as He could, and as His perfections would demand, interfere to correct the error.

Our next observation must regard the quantity of testimony which would be required to prove one of those miraculous facts. The assertion has sometimes been made, that more than usually would suffice for establishing an ordinary fact, would be necessary to prove the existence of a miracle. We altogether dissent from this position. The facts, in the one case, are precisely as obvious to examination as in the other. Strange as the assertion which I am about to make will probably appear to many who have honored me with their attention, I plainly say that it will be found, upon reflection, that there is far less danger of deceit or mistake in the examination of a miraculous fact, than there is in one of ordinary occurrence. The reason is simple, and I believe natural and evidently sufficient. The mind is less liable to be imposed upon, when its curiosity is greatly excited, and when its jealousy and suspicions are awakened, than when it is prepared to expect and to admit what it is daily, perhaps hourly, in the habit of expecting and admitting. Ordinary events excite no curiosity, create no surprise, and there is no difficulty in admitting, that what has frequently occurred occurs again; the statement of such an occurrence will easily pass; but the *state of* the mind is widely different, when we eagerly seek *to ascertain* whether what has never been witnessed by us *before,* has now come under our observation, or whether

ve have not been under some delusion; whether an attempt has not been made to deceive us. We, in such a case, become extremely jealous; we examine with more than ordinary care, and we run less risk of being deceived or mistaken.

No person doubts the power of the Creator, the supreme Legislator and Preserver of the universe, to suspend any law of nature in the course of its operation, or to select some individual case which He will except from the operation of that law, and during His own pleasure. The question can never be as to this power, as to the possibility of a miraculous interference; but it always must regard the fact, and that fact must be established by testimony, and without the evidence of testimony, no person who was not present can be required to believe. There does not and cannot exist any individual or tribunal, with power to require or command the humblest mortal to believe without evidence.

There is no place in which the rules of evidence are better understood or more accurately observed than in our respectable courts of law. Permit me, for the moment, to bring your attention to one of those cases which frequently presents itself to the view of our citizens. There stands a citizen charged with the murder of his fellow-man. Long experience, deep study, unsullied purity, calm impartiality, and patience for investigati n, form the judicial character; hey are found upon the bench. Steady integrity, the power of discrimination, the love of justice, a deep interest in the welfare of the community, and the sanction of a solemn pledge to heaven, are all found in the jury. The public eye is upon them, and the supreme tribunal of public opinion, after an open hearing of the case, is to pronounce upon the judges and the jurors themselves. The life or death, the fame or infamy of the accused lies with them, and is in their keeping, at the peril of their feelings, their haracter, their conscience, and their souls. The decision *ust be made by the* evidence arising from testimony, and

that the testimony of men, and those men liable to all the weakness and all the bad passions of humanity; yet here, in this important case, a solemn decision must be made. That jury must be satisfied that the person now said to be dead was living, that he is now dead, that the change from life to death was produced by the act of their fellow-citizen now arraigned before them; that this act was done with sufficient deliberation to proceed from malicious intent; that for this act he had no authority; he who was deprived of life being a peaceable person, under the protection of the State. In this there is frequently much perplexity, and little testimony, and that testimony frequently regarding not the substantial ingredients of the crime, but establishing facts, from which those that form the ingredients are only derived by inference. Still we find convictions and have executions, and the jury, with the approbation of the bench, and the assent of the community, unhesitatingly put on solemn record their conviction of the truth of facts which they never saw, and of which they have only the testimony of their fellow-men; and upon this testimony society agrees that property, liberty, life and fame, shall all be disposed of with perfect assurance of truth and justice.

I will now suppose that court constituted as I have described, and for the purpose of ascertaining the fact of murder. A number of respectable witnesses depose to the fact of the person stated to be slain having been alive. They were in habits of intimacy with him, were his companions during years, some of them have seen his dead body, in presence of others who also testify to their having seen and examined that body; those last were present when the prisoner, with perfect deliberation, inflicted a wound upon the deceased. There can be no doubt as to the identity of the deceased, and there is none as to the identity of the prisoner. A number of physicians testify their opinion *as to the* wound so given, and which they examined, being *a sufficient* cause of death. The accused produces no author-

ity for his act; there has been no process of law against the deceased, who was a peaceable and well-conducted citizen. How could that jury hesitate? They must, painful as is the task, they must consign the unfortunate culprit to the just vengeance of the law; the judge must deliver him to the executioner, and the public record of the State must exhibit his infamy. Life and character must both disappear; they are swept away by the irresistible force of evidence, founded upon human testimony. The widow must hang her head in shame; in the recess of her dwelling she must sit in lonely, disconsolate, unsupported grief; the orphans blush to bear their father's name; the brothers would forget their kindred; and perhaps even gray hairs would gladly bow still lower, compelled by grief and years to court the concealment of the grave.

Still, when a fact becomes evident from the examination of testimony, we must yield our assent to that fact, without regarding its consequences.

Let me continue my supposition. Before the dissolution of that court, whilst it is yet in session, the jury still occupying their seats—a rush is made into the hall—the same identical witnesses appear again; but they are accompanied by the deceased, now raised to life. They testify that, as they were departing from the court, a man, whom they produce, proclaimed that he was commissioned by the Most High to deliver His great behests to his fellow-men; and that to prove the validity of his commission, he summoned them to accompany him to the tomb of the man whose death they had so fully proved, and that by an appeal to heaven for the authenticity of his commission, the man should revive. They went—they saw the body in the grave—the claimant upon heaven called upon the eternal God to show that He had sent him to teach his fellow-men. He calls the deceased—the body rises—the dead has come to life. He accompanies them to the court; he is recognized by his acquaintances—confessed by his friends—felt by the people; *he speaks, he breathes*—he moves, he eats, he drinks, he

lives amongst them. Can that court refuse to say that it is satisfied of the fact of the resuscitation? What would any honest man think of the members of that jury should they swear that this man had not been resuscitated by the interference of that individual who thus proves his commission? If that jury could, upon the testimony of those witnesses, find the first fact, why shall they not, upon the same testimony, find the second?

But, we may be asked, how we know that this man was dead? Probably it was only a mistake. He could not have been totally bereft of life. Ask the jury, who, upon the certainty of the fact of death, consigned their fellow-citizen to infamy and to the gallows. Shall we admit the certainty for the purposes of human justice, and quibble with our convictions to exclude the testimony of heaven? This, indeed, would be a miserable sophistry. Would any court upon such a plea, so unsupported, issue a respite from execution? An isolated *perhaps*, with nothing to rest upon, set up against positive testimony, resting upon the uncontradicted evidence derived from the senses, from experience, and from analogy; a speculative possibility against a substantive fact, by which the very possibility is destroyed!

Where is the cause of doubt? Where the difference between the two cases? In both suppositions the essential facts are the same—life, death—identity; the difference consists in the accidental circumstances of the priority of one to the other. The one is the ordinary transition from life to death, an occurrence which is to us most mysterious and inexplicable, but with the existence of which we are long familiar; the other a transition from death to life, not more mysterious but which rarely occurs, and when it does occur, is most closely examined, viewed with jealous scrutiny, and which excites deep interest, and to admit the truth of which there is no predisposition in the mind. The facts are precisely the same in the case of the murder and *of the miracle*; the accident of the priority of one to *the other* constitutes the whole difference. And surely if

witnesses can tell me that a man who has never died shows all the symptoms of life, the same witnesses can tell me the same fact, though that man had passed from death to life. The symptoms of life are always the same, and the testimony which will establish the fact of life at one time, by proving the existence of those symptoms, will be at any time sufficient for the same purpose. The same is to be said of the symptoms of death and of the testimony which will establish the fact by proving their existence. It may be objected that no adequate cause is assigned for this extraordinary occurrence. The answer is twofold. To be convinced of the truth of a fact, it is not necessary that I should know the cause of its existence; it suffices for me to know the existence of the fact itself, and its existence will not be the less certain though I should never be able to discover the cause. How many facts do we every day witness, whose causes are still to us inaccessible and undiscovered! Next: An adequate cause is here distinctly pointed out and referred to. He who first breathed into the nostrils of man, whom He fashioned from the dust, a living soul, is now equally powerful to call back the departed spirit to its mouldering tenement of clay.

In the Mosaic—in the Christian dispensation, what multitudes of miraculous facts attest the presence of the Deity—the revelations of heaven! During what a length of time were not those facts open to every species of examination! How favorable were the circumstances for the detection of imposition, for the exposure of fanaticism, for the ridicule of folly, if the impostor, the fanatic, or the fool had claimed to be the messenger of heaven! Thus we believe that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ instructed man in the doctrines of truth, had authority to prescribe laws of morality, and founded institutions to which we are religiously bound unalterably to adhere. If the miraculous facts, which establish this conclusion, are not in full evidence, I, for one, must profess that I must blot from my mind all that I have *been ever led to believe* were facts of history.

A peculiarity of our religion is, that we may at any moment risk its truth or falsehood upon the truth or falsehood of the statement of any one or the whole of a vast variety of facts. We know nothing of speculation, we know nothing of opinion. Opinions form no part of our religion. It is all a statement of facts, and the truth of those facts can at any moment be brought to the test. With this we stand or fall. Allow me to adduce one fact as an instance and an illustration.

The Founder of our Church, the Saviour of the world, foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, and that not a stone should be left upon another of the mighty mass of the splendid temple. One of our prophets foretold that upon the establishment of the new law which we profess, the sacrifice should cease, and never be restored, in that temple. The sacrifice did cease — the city was sacked — the temple was destroyed: — the Christians proclaimed that the temple would never be rebuilt, the sacrifice would never be restored. The Roman emperor Julian, having apostatized from the faith, was determined to humble the Church which he had deserted, and by establishing one fact to defeat their prophecy, to prove the delusion of the Nazarenes or Galileans, as he termed the Christians. With the wealth of the Roman empire, the power of his sceptre, the influence of his place, and the devotion of the most zealous people under heaven, he made the attempt. The whole Jewish people, animated with love of country and of religion, cheered by their neighbors, urged on by their emperor, flattered by his court, undertook the work. They rooted up the old foundations of the temple, until indeed there was not left a stone upon a stone; they prepared to rebuild. History testifies their disappointment. Cyril of Jerusalem, a bishop of our Church, and Ammianus Marcellinus, the emperor's historian, a Christian and a pagan, together with a cloud of other witnesses, inform us of their discomfiture. Centuries have elapsed. *The prophecy* and the attempt are both on record. To-day we say, as our predecessors said then: "Build that temple,

offer one sacrifice according to the Mosaic rites within its walls, and we acknowledge our delusion." But we cannot, for any speculative opinions of philosophers, abandon the evidence of miracles, of prophecy, and of history united.

My brethren, I come now to a new part of my subject. We have seen that our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ made a revelation to the human race; our next and very natural inquiry must be to discover how we shall ascertain what that revelation is. This is the place where we arrive at the essential distinction between the Roman Catholic Church and every other; it is, indeed, upon this question the whole difference turns; and to this it must be always brought back. The doctrine which, as a prelate of that Church, and from my own conscientious conviction, I preach, differs very widely indeed from what is generally professed and acted upon by the great majority of our citizens, and by a vast portion of the respectable and enlightened assemblage which surrounds me. I shall state our doctrine fully upon this head; but I do not feel that it would be correct or delicate on my part to enter at present upon the field of polemics for its vindication. Still it will be permitted that I give an outline, imperfect and defective it must be, for the cause which I have assigned, of the reasons for that faith which is in us.

And here let me assure you that if, in the course of my observations, any expression should escape from me that may appear calculated to wound the feelings of those from whom I differ, it is not my intention to assail, to insult, or to give pain; and that I may be pardoned for what will be in truth an inconsiderate expression, not intended to offend. Neither my own feelings, nor my judgment, nor my faith would dictate to me anything calculated to embitter the feelings of those who differ from me—merely for that difference. My kindest friends, my most intimate acquaintance, they whom I do and ought to esteem and respect, are at variance with *my creed; yet it does not* and shall not destroy our affection. *In me it would be* ingratitude; for I must avow, and I do

it most willingly, that in my journeys through our States I have been frequently humbled and abashed at the kindness with which I have been treated. I came amongst you a stranger, and I went through your land with many and most serious and unfortunate mistakes, for which you were not blamable, operating to my disadvantage. If a Roman Catholic bishop were in truth what he is even now generally supposed to be, in various parts of this Union, he should not be permitted to reside amongst you; yet was I received into your houses, enrolled in your families, and profited by your kindness. I have frequently put the question to myself whether, if I had similar impressions regarding you, I could have acted with the like kindness; and I must own, I frequently doubted that I would. It is true, you labored under serious mistakes as to what was my religion, and what were my duties and my obligations. But you were not yourselves the authors of those mistakes; nor had you within your reach the means of correcting them. I feel grateful to my friends who have afforded me this opportunity of perhaps aiding to do away with those impressions; for our affections will be more strong as those mistakes will be corrected; and it must gratify those who, loving the country, behold us spread through it, to be assured, that we are not those vile beings that have been painted to their imaginations, and which ought not to be allowed existence in any civilized community.

Upon our principles, my brethren, we must not speculate; we must always keep our eye steadily upon facts. The wisest man might be misled in speculation; might make great mistakes in forming opinions; but if he has evidence of a fact he has ground upon which he can rest with certainty; and the inevitable consequence of that fact produces certainty also. Let us then look for facts instead of hazarding conjectures or maintaining opinions.

It is a fact that our blessed Redeemer did not write His *communications*; it is equally certain that He neither gave *a command* nor a commission to have them written. It is a

, that His religion was fully and extensively established
›re any part of the Scriptures of our new law was com-
:ed to writing. We therefore believe it to be evident
; our religion was not established by the dissemination
writings.

Ve have abundant testimony to show that our blessed
leemer, besides having publicly taught the people, selected
'ew persons whom he more fully instructed and duly
ıorized to teach also. They were His companions during
and after His death they were the promulgators of His
trine. Their commission from Him was not to become
losophers, discussing what was probably the nature of
l and the obligation of man, and examining what means
r would esteem to be most likely to lead mankind to
nal happiness. They were constituted witnesses to others,
testify what the Saviour revealed to them, and to speak
positive facts with undoubting certainty; to state what
actually told, what He precisely commanded, what He
itively instituted, and for what purpose, and what were
be the consequences. All this was matter-of-fact testified
witnesses, not discovered by disquisitions of philosophy.
: teachers were not to add, they were not to diminish,
r were not to change; the perfection of the revelation
ɜisted in preserving the account purely unchanged. We
; it is a fact that others were added to the commission
teachers. The very nature of the case exhibited the
ɜssity of such addition, because the original commissioners
ıld not suffice for the multitude to be taught. Natural
ɜon pointed out the course which testimony shows us was
owed. They who were originally constituted by the
leemer to form the teaching tribunal, selected those whom
r found best instructed, and being satisfied of their
grity by the testimony of those who had long known
n, they were themselves judges of their full acquaintance
ı the truths which were to be taught and of their ability.
ɜy ordained them as fellow-witnesses, extended to them
power of the commission, and thus in every city were

chosen faithful men, who might be fit to teach others that form of sound words which had been committed to themselves before many witnesses. The people who heard the testimony of the first teachers were also capable of observing if any deviation had been made by their successors. Those first teachers and their associates were scattered abroad widely through the world, but in all places they taught the same things, for truth could not be contradictory. Some persons sought after novelties, and separated from the great body, which itself remained united in government and in doctrine, though widely scattered through the world. Those isolated and independent divisions followed each some theory of its own, having some peculiarity by which each was distinguished from the other, each judging and deciding for itself, and each claiming to have preserved the true doctrine. This state of things existed almost at the very origin of the Christian Church, and has since continued more or less extensively. It was not until the eighth year after the ascension of our Lord, or the year 41 of our era, that the first part of the New Testament was written by St. Matthew, who was one of the earliest companions of the Saviour and an Apostle. Many of the Christians had committed to writing several facts and discourses which they had learned. Many of their accounts contained much that has never reached us. Some years afterwards, St. Mark, who was not an Apostle, but who was a companion of St. Peter, the president of the apostolic body, first in honor and first in jurisdiction, abridged much of what St. Matthew had written, and added much of his own, which he had probably learned from St. Peter. Those books had a limited circulation amongst the Christians in some places, but highly as they were valued, they were not looked upon as the exclusive evidence of the doctrines of the Redeemer, and the very fact, which is of course incontestable, that a vast quantity of what we all now receive as His doctrine is not contained *in them,* but was subsequently written, renders it impossible *for any of* us to assume this principle. In the year 58 of *our era,* St. Luke, who was a physician in Antioch, and

o had been occasionally a companion of St. Paul, and l conversed with many of the other disciples and ostles, began to write his Gospel from the accounts lected through others, and chiefly to counteract the circula- ı of many erroneous accounts which were written. He bably had not seen either of the two Gospels written by tthew or Mark. About ten years after this, he wrote the s of the Apostles as a continuation of his history, and in ıe principally confines himself to the account of the labors St. Paul, as he was his companion, and had the oppor- ity of observing his proceedings. Upwards of thirty rs more elapsed before St. John wrote his Gospel at the uest of the Churches of Asia Minor, in order to testify inst the errors of several persons who then troubled those ırches with their speculations and imaginations. He had viously written his book of Revelations, being an obscure phecy of some future events blended with history and on. He had written some epistles to Churches and to ividuals on particular occasions. St. Paul, in the dis- rge of his duties, had been sometimes consulted upon ticular questions by Churches which he had founded or ted; and some of his epistles are extant, in which he wers their difficulties, gives them instruction suitable to ir circumstances, and makes several regulations. He also te on other occasions to Churches and to individuals, as three or four of the other Apostles; some of those letters ain; we are informed, and think it not unlikely, that ıy more have been lost.

Thus, during the first century, it is a fact, that no such k as we now receive, called the New Testament, was d or adopted in the Church as the mode for each indi- ual or each Church to ascertain what was the doctrine Christ. The several portions of which it is composed had eed been written and were used, but they were not col- ed together, and very probably no individual had a copy the whole. But *those* were not the only books of the e *description which* circulated, for there were very many

others purporting to be Gospels and epistles; and it would indeed be very difficult for any individual who desired to know the doctrine of the Redeemer, to discover it from books, in such a state of things.

Another fact is also obvious: That in this century the Apostles and most of those whom they had associated with them in their commission died. During their lives, they were the teachers of the doctrine; they testified what Christ had taught, and it was by reference to their tribunal it was ascertained. But a question here naturally presents itself to us. Should a difference of testimony be found amongst those teachers, it is very evident that one of them must have, to say the least, made a mistake; how was an honest inquirer after truth to know what God has revealed? It is plain, we say, that truth and error must exist in such a case, however innocent the erring party might be. And unless there were a very plain and simple mode of detecting that error, He who gave the revelation would not have provided for its preservation. And as this difference not only might exist, but did actually occur at a very early period within this same century, the evidence of truth would have been lost in the difference of testimony, and revelation would have been made useless almost as soon as it had been given. We say that the common rule of evidence arising from testimony would have been sufficient, when properly applied, to have detected the error. That rule is: Examine the witnesses fully as to the fact, and if the vast majority, under proper circumstances, will agree in the testimony, it is the evidence of truth. Our history exhibits to us, in the lifetime of the Apostles, the facts of the difference, the examination, and the decision by this rule; and also the further fact, that they who would not abide by the decision were no longer considered as holding the doctrine which had been revealed, but as making new opinions, *and* substituting what they thought ought to be, instead of *preserving* what had always been. We then find those who *continued* to testify the doctrine of the Apostles holding

ommunion with them, recognized as joined in their commission, and authorized also to extend and to perpetuate he same. Thus, although the Apostles and their associates lied within this century, still that tribunal of which they vere the first members survived, and at the end of this eriod was far more numerous and much more widely extended through the world; and it was to this tribunal recourse was had to ascertain what was the doctrine of our blessed Redeemer. Originally this tribunal consisted of Peter and his associates, the other Apostles; now it consisted of the successor of Peter, and the successors of the ther Apostles, and of their associates through the world.

No king could say that he would regulate the doctrines r his people; no nation had authority to modify those octrines for themselves. The perfection of religion consists preserving the doctrines such as they have been given y God in revelation. The difference of temporal government cannot alter what He has said. Thus, there was formed ut one Church through many nations—one tribunal to tesfy in every place the same doctrine—all the individuals ho taught were witnesses for or against each other—the hole body, with the successor of Peter at its head, watchul to see that each taught that which was originally elivered.

In the second century the same system continues; simiar facts present themselves to our view; the mode of ascerining what Christ had taught was, by the declarations of his permanent body, thus continued. The books of the New Testament were, perhaps, better known and more genrally read, but their circulation was comparatively limited, heir authority not sufficiently developed, and they were by o means considered as the only source from which indiiduals, or even congregations, could draw a full knowledge f the revelations of the Saviour. It was not until after e lapse of three centuries that the members of that living ibunal, which *had always* been the witness of doctrine, *lected the books that form* the New Testament from the

various other works of a similar description, which l
been very freely disseminated. We have full evidence
the plain fact, that this tribunal had been the authorita
witness of the revealed truths from the beginning, and t
it was only after a long lapse of time that body separa
the writings known as the Scriptures of the New I
from several spurious works of little or no value, some
them even false and pernicious. And our belief is, that
mode of ascertaining the doctrine of truth originally w
and continued to be, from the testimony of that tribu
rather than by the mere testimony of those books.

What would be the authority of those books, without
authority of that tribunal? Bring any written docum
into any court of justice; lay it on the table; what
it prove? Will you not first produce evidence to sh
what it is? You must prove by the testimony of so
competent witness the nature and authenticity of a writ
document before that written document can be used. Wi
out having been thus established, it lies useless before
court. It may be what it purports to be, but it is pl
that a written or printed book may not be what
assumes in its title; a document flung upon the table o
court lies there without any use, until it is made useful
testimony besides itself. The record of a court must
proved by the officer of that court; fictions and forge
are as easily printed or produced as are the genuine st
ments of truth; and it does not derogate from the value
a genuine document, to say that it needs first to be prov
for no document can prove itself.

Our doctrine then is, that in all cases of difference as
faith, between the commissioned teachers of the Church,
in any such differences between others, the mode origina
used will procure for us evidence of truth. The quest
never can be respecting opinion; it must always be c
cerning fact; that fact is what God did reveal. The o
inal witnesses spread through the world testified this
to their associates and to their successors; this testim

s thus continued. In the second or third century, the
hop in Greece could testify what had been transmitted
him; the Parthian bishop gave his testimony; the
yptian added his; the Italian told what he had been
ght; their agreement could not have been the effect
accident. The prejudices, the national habits, and the
usand accidental differences of each made them sufficiently
tchful of each other: their joint and concurrent testimony
st have been full proof of the sameness of the testi-
ny of their predecessors, until all met in the Apostles
o heard it from Jesus Christ. We say, that when the
at majority of the bishops united with their head, the
hop of Rome, who succeeds to Peter, thus concur in
ir testimony, it is evidence of truth; we will infallibly
ne to a certain knowledge of what God has revealed.
is is our doctrine of the infallibility of the Church;
d thus we believe that we will ascertain what Christ
ght, by the testimony of the majority of bishops united
their head, whether assembled or dispersed through their
s all over the world.[1]

Others may be of opinion that this is an irrational—that
is is an incorrect, that this is an insufficient mode. We
not view it in that light; and I may be permitted to
for myself, perhaps it might be deemed prejudice;
rhaps a weakness of intellect, or a slavery of mind; to
it appears a much better mode of attaining its great
ject than to take up the Scriptures and decide solely for
self; better than to depend upon the authority of any
lividual, however learned, or pious, or inspired with
avenly knowledge, he might be deemed. I am not infal-
le; but in virtue of my place I give my testimony; I
y err, but the majority of my brethren will correct that
or. A few others may err; still the testimony of the
jority prevails—thus individuals may separate from us,

[1] Consult here, *for a clear definition* and full explanation of the infallibility *the Church and the Pope*, Newman's answer to Gladstone, in the second vol- *of "Difficulties of Anglicans."*

but our unity and our testimony remains. We do profess to believe our Pope infallible.[1] We believe, by virtue of the divine appointment, he presides am us, but we are fellow-witnesses with him.

But this power of decision is by its own nature extre limited. We are witnesses to our brethren, not despots men's minds. Our testimony must be confined to what been revealed; we cannot add, we cannot diminish. is the duty of a witness, such is ours. All the Popes bishops, all the councils which have ever existed, or may exist, have not and cannot have the power of manding the humblest individual to believe one pa more on the subject of revelation than what they testify to have taught. When they exhibit what has been t by heaven, man is bound to believe. Let them "Besides this which God has revealed, we are of op that you would do well to believe this, which He ha taught, but which we think a very good doctrine." H free to act as he may think proper, his belief would n faith, it would be receiving the opinions of men, no teaching of heaven; this mode of teaching is never in our Church. The decisions of our councils are exhibition of the original revelation, not the expressi adopted opinions. So, too, the whole body of our Cl cannot omit to teach any revealed truth; she must all; she must be a faithful witness; neither adding, ting, nor changing.

In our mode of examining, although we believe Founder of our Church made a promise of His d guidance to protect our body from erring, we take all natural means which will aid in the discovery of the ori fact. We not only have known the testimony of those whom we learned, and that of those with whom we assoc but we have the records of our Churches, we have

[1] *It is* now, though it was not then, a dogma of the Church that the *when speaking ex cathedra*, or as the Pastor Æternus, is infallible. Vide "T *ties of Anglicans*," Vol. II.

documents of antiquity. We have the writings of our ancient, and venerable, and eminent bishops and doctors, coming from every age and from every nation. We have the decisions of former councils, we have the monuments which have been erected, the usages which have prevailed, the customs which continue, and when we take up the sacred volume of the Scriptures, we collate its passages with the results which we gather from these sources. The prelates of our several nations make this examination in every quarter of the globe, each testifies what he has found in conjunction with those of his vicinity who could aid him in his research, and thus we obtain testimony of the whole world respecting facts in which the world is deeply interested. Can it be slavery in me to bow to the decision of this tribunal? Frequently, questions which have been long since decided in this manner are revived. Our answer in those cases is very short: "This has been already determined." We are told this is limiting the operations and chaining down the freedom of the human mind. Perhaps it is. But if the proper use of the faculties be the discovery of truth, and that truth has been already discovered, what more is necessary? When investigations have been made, and results arrived at, why investigate still? You go into court to defend your property, you have your titles fully investigated, judgment is given in your favor, it is put upon record; a new litigant calls upon you to go over the same ground; will not the record of the judgment against his father protect you? Or must you, because he choose to trouble you, burn that record, and join issue again? We quote the decisions of former times as proofs that investigation has been already made, and that a decision has long since been had. And what has once been found to have been revealed by God, cannot by any lapse of time cease to be revelation. If the fact shall have been once fully proved, that proof must be good always; if a record thereof be made, that record is always evidence.

A political difficulty has been sometimes raised here. If

this infallible tribunal, which you profess yourselves bound to obey, should command you to overturn our government, and tell you that it is the will of God to have it new modelled, will you be bound to obey it? And how then can we consider those men to be good citizens who profess to owe obedience to a foreign authority—to an authority not recognized in our Constitution—to an authority which has excommunicated and deposed sovereigns, and which has absolved subjects and citizens from their bond of allegiance?

Our answer to this is extremely simple and very plain; it is, that we would not be bound to obey it—that we recognize no such authority. I would not allow to the Pope, or to any bishop of our Church, outside this Union, the smallest interference with the humblest vote at our most insignificant ballot-box. He has no right to such interference. You must, from the view which I have taken, see the plain distinction between spiritual authority and a right to interfere in the regulation of human government or civil concerns. You have in your Constitution wisely kept them distinct and separate. It will be wisdom, and prudence, and safety to continue the separation. Your Constitution says that Congress shall have no power to restrict the free exercise of religion. Suppose your dignified body to-morrow attempted to restrict me in the exercise of that right; though the law, as it would be called, should pass your two houses and obtain the signature of the President, I would not obey it, because it would be no law, it would be an usurpation; for you cannot make a law in violation of your Constitution—you have no power in such a case. So, if that tribunal which is established by the Creator to testify to me what He has revealed, and to make the necessary regulations of discipline for the government of the Church, shall presume to go beyond that boundary which circumscribes its power, its acts are invalid; my rights are not to be destroyed by its usurpation; and there is no *principle* of my creed which prevents my using my natural *right of* proper resistance to any tyrannical usurpation. You

have no power to interfere with my religious rights; the tribunal of the Church has no power to interfere with my civil rights. It is a duty which every good man ought to discharge for his own and for the public benefit, to resist any encroachment upon either. We do not believe that God gave to the Church any power to interfere with our civil rights or our civil concerns. Christ our Lord refused to interfere in the division of the inheritance between two brothers, one of whom requested that interference. The civil tribunals of Judea were vested with sufficient authority for that purpose, and He did not transfer it to His Apostles. It must hence be apparent, that any idea of the Roman Catholics of these republics being in any way under the influence of any foreign ecclesiastical power, or indeed of any Church authority, in the exercise of their civil rights, is a serious mistake. There is no class of our fellow-citizens more free to think and to act for themselves on the subject of our rights than we are; and I believe there is not any portion of the American family more jealous of foreign influence, or more ready to resist it. We have brethren of our Church in every part of the globe, under every form of government; this is a subject upon which each of us is free to act as he thinks proper. We know of no tribunal in our Church which can interfere in our proceedings as citizens. Our ecclesiastical authority existed before our Constitution, is not affected by it; there is not in the world a constitution which it does not precede, with which it could not co-exist; it has seen nations perish, dynasties decay, empires prostrate; it has co-existed with all, it has survived them all, it is not dependent upon any one of them; they may still change, and it will still continue.

It is again urged, that at least our Church is aristocratic, if not despotic, in its principles, and is not calculated for a republic—that its spirit is opposed to that of republicanism. This objection cannot be seriously urged by any *person who has studied* history, nor by any person who

is acquainted with our tenets. Look over the history of the world since the establishment of Christianity, and where have there been republics? Have the objectors read the history of Italy? A soil fertile in republics, and most devoted to our religion! What was the religion of William Tell? He was a Roman Catholic. Look not only to the Swiss republics, but take San Marino—this little State, during centuries, the most splendid specimen of the purest democracy, and this democracy protected by our Popes during these centuries. Men who make the assertions to which I have alluded cannot have read history. Amongst ourselves, what is the religion of the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton? Men who make these assertions cannot have read our Declaration of Independence. What was the religion of the good, the estimable, the beloved Doctor Carroll, our first Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, the founder of our hierarchy, the friend of Washington, the associate of Franklin? Have those men been degraded in our Church because they aided in your struggle for the assertion of your rights, for the establishment of our glorious and our happy republic? No—they are the jewels which we prize, the ornaments of our Church, the patriots of our country. They and others, whom we count as our members, and esteem for their virtues, have been the intimate and faithful associates of many of our best patriots who have passed from our transitory scene, and of some who yet view in consolation our prosperity. What is the religion of Simon Bolivar? What the religion of the whole population of our republican sisters upon the southern continent? We are always assailed by speculation. We always answer by facts. Have we been found traitors in your councils, unfaithful to your trust, cowards in your fields, or in correspondence with your enemies? Yet we have been consulted for our prudence, confided in for our fidelity, enriched your soil with our blood, filled your decks with our energy; and though some of us might have wept at leaving the land of our ancestors because of the injus-

tice of its rulers, we told our brothers who assailed you in the day of battle that we knew them not, and we adhered to those who gave to us a place of refuge and impartial protection. Shall we then be told that our religion is not the religion calculated for republics, though it will be found that the vast majority of republican States and of republican patriots have been, and even now are, Roman Catholic? It is true, ours is also the religion of a large portion of empires, and of kingdoms, and of principalities. The fact is so far an obvious reason, because it is the religion of the great bulk of the civilized world. Our tenets do not prescribe any form of government which the people may properly and regularly establish. No revelation upon which my eye has fallen, or which ever reached my ear, has taught me that the Almighty God commanded us to be governed by kings, or by emperors, or by princes, or to associate in republics. Upon this God has left us free to make our own selection. The decision upon the question of expediency as to the form of government for temporal or civil concerns, is one to be settled by society, and not by the Church. We therefore bind no nation or people to any special form; the form which they may adopt lies not with us, but with themselves. What suits the genius and circumstances of one people might be totally unfit for another; hence, no special form of human government for civil concerns has been generally established by divine authority. But the God of order who commands men to dwell together in peace, has armed the government which has been properly established by the principles of society, with power for the execution of the functions which are given by society to its administration. Whilst it continues, within its due bounds, to discharge properly its constitutional obligations, it is the duty of each good member of society to concur in its support. He who would resist its proper authority, would in this case resist the ordinance of the God of peace and of order, and, as the *Apostle says, would* purchase damnation for himself. This

principle applies alike to all forms of government properly established and properly administered—to republics and to kingdoms alike. It is then a mistake to imagine that our Church has more congeniality to one species of civil government than to another; it has been fitted by its Author, who saw the fluctuating state of civil rule, to exist independently of any, and to be suited to all. Its own peculiar forms for its internal regulation may and do continue to be adhered to under every form of temporal rule.

But is it not a tenet of our Church, that we must persecute all those who differ from us? Has not our religion been propagated by the firebrand and by the sword? Is not the Inquisition one of its component parts? Are not our boasted South American republics persecutors still? And in the code of our infallible Church have we not canons of persecution which we are conscientiously bound to obey and to enforce? Did not the great Lateran Council, in 1215, command all princes to exterminate all heretics? If, then, we are not persecutors in fact, it is because we want the power, for it is plain that we do not want the disposition.

I would humbly submit, that not one of these questions could be truly answered in the affirmative. The spirit of religion is that of peace and of mercy, not that of persecution; yet men of every creed have persecuted their brethren under the pretext of religion. The great Founder of our Church, at a very early period, checked this spirit in His Apostles. When some cities would not receive His doctrine, they asked why He did not call down fire from heaven to destroy them; but His calm and dignified rebuke was, that they knew not by what spirit they were led; it was the spirit of human passion assuming the garb of heavenly zeal. I know of no power given by God to any man, or to any body of men, in the Christian dispensation, to inflict any penalty of a temporal description upon their fellow-men for mere religious error. If such error *shall cause* the violation of peace, or shall interfere with *the well-being* of society, temporal governments, being estab-

lished to prevent such disorders, have their own inherent right, but not a religious commission, to interfere merely for that prevention. Each individual is responsible to God for his conduct in this regard; to Him, and to Him only, we stand or fall. He commissioned the Church to teach His doctrine—but He did not commission her to persecute those who would not receive it. He who beholds the evidence of truth and will not follow it, is inexcusable; he who will not use his best exertions to obtain that evidence, is inexcusable; he who having used his best exertions for that purpose, and having with the best intentions made a mistake in coming to his conclusion, is not a criminal because of that mistake. God alone, the searcher of our hearts, can clearly see the full accountability of each individual upon this head—because each person must be accountable according to his opportunities. I feel that many and serious mistakes are made by my friends in this country. I know who are mistaken, but far be it from me to say that all who err are criminal. I have frequently asked myself whether, if I had had only the same opportunities of knowing the doctrine of my Church and its evidences that many of them have had, I would be what I now am. Indeed, it would be very extraordinary if I was. They labor under those mistakes, not through their own fault in several instances; and if the Roman Catholic Church were, in her doctrines and her practices, what they have been taught she is, I would not be a Roman Catholic. They imagine her to be what she is not; and when they oppose what they believe her to be, it is not to her their opposition is really given. To God, and to Him alone, belongs it ultimately to discriminate between those who are criminal and those who are innocent in their error; and I look in vain through every record, in vain I listen to every testimony of my doctrine to discover any command to persecute, any power to inflict fine, or disqualification, or bodily chastisement upon those who are in *mere religious error.* It is no doctrine of the Roman

Catholic Church; I do not know that it is the doctrine of any Church calling itself Christian; but, unfortunately, I know it has been practiced by some Roman Catholics, and it has been practiced in every Church which accused her of having had recourse thereto. I would then say it was taught by no Church; it has been practiced in all. One great temptation to its exercise is the union of any Church with the State; and religion has more frequently been but a pretext with statesmen for a political purpose, than the cause of persecution for zeal on its own behalf.

Christ gave to His Apostles no commission to use the sword or the brand, and they went forth in the simplicity of their testimony, and the evidence of their miracles, and the power of their evidence, to convert the world. They gave freely their own blood to be shed for the sake of religion, but they shed not the blood of their opponents. Their associates and their successors followed their example, and were successful by that imitation. And the historian who represents the chastisements of infidel barbarians, by Christian princes, for the protection of their own people, and the security of their own property, misleads the reader whom he would fain persuade, that it was done for the purposes of religion at the instigation of those who laid down their own lives in the conversion of those barbarians. It is true, indeed, that we cannot call error truth, nor style truth error; it is true that we say there must continue to be an essential distinction between them; it is true that we cannot belie our consciences, nor bear false witness to our neighbors, by telling them that we believe they adhere to the doctrines of Christ, when they contradict what we receive as those doctrines; we cannot believe two contradictory propositions to be at the same time true. But such a declaration on our part does not involve as its consequence that we believe they ought to be persecuted. The Inquisition is a civil tribunal of some States, not a portion of our religion.

We now come to examine what are called the persecuting

laws of our Church. In the year 1215, at the Council of Lateran, certain heresies were condemned by the first canon; and amongst other things this canon recites as Catholic faith, in opposition to the errors of those whom it condemned, that there is but one God, the Creator of all things, of spirits as well as bodies; the Author of the Old Testament and of the Mosaic dispensation, equally as of the New Testament and of the Christian dispensation; that He created not only the good angels, but also the devil and the bad angels, originally coming good from His hand, and becoming wicked by their own malice, etc. In its third canon it excommunicates those heretics, and declares them to be separated from the body of the Church. Then follows a direction, that the heretics so condemned are to be given up to the secular powers, or to their bailiffs, to be duly punished. This direction continues to require of all bishops and others having authority, to make due search within their several districts for those heretics, and if they will not be induced to retract their errors, desires that they should be delivered over to be punished. There is an injunction then to all temporal lords to cleanse their dominions by exterminating those heretics; and if they will not, within a year from having been so admonished by the Church, cleanse their lands of this heretical filth, they shall be deprived if they have superior lords, and if they be superior lords and be negligent, it shall be the duty of the metropolitan and his provincial bishops to excommunicate them, and if any one of those lords paramount so excommunicated for this negligence shall continue during twelve months under the excommunication, the metropolitan shall certify the same to the Pope, who finding admonition useless, shall depose this prince, and absolve his subjects from their oaths of fealty, and deliver the territory over to Catholics who, having exterminated the heretics, shall remain in peaceable possession.

This is the most formidable evidence adduced against the position which I have laid down, that it is not a doctrine

of our Church, that we are bound to persecute those who differ from us in belief. I trust that I shall not occupy very much of your time in showing that this enactment does not in any way weaken that assertion. I shall do so, by satisfying you that this is a special law for a particular case; and also by convincing you that it is not a canon of the Church respecting any of those points in which we admit her infallibility; nor indeed a canon of the Church.

The doctrines condemned in this first canon originated in Syria, touched lightly at the islands of the Archipelago, settled down in Bulgaria, and spread into the south of Europe, but were principally received in the vicinity of Albi, in France. The persons condemned held the Manichæan principle of there being two creators of the universe; one a good being, the author of the New Testament, the creator of good angels, and generally of spiritual essences; the other an evil being, the creator of bodies, the author of the Mosaic dispensation, and generally of the Old Testament. They stated that marriage was unlawful, and co-operation with the principle of evil was criminal. The consequences to society were of the very worst description, immoral, dismal, and desolating. The Church examined the doctrine, condemned it as heretical, and cut off those who held or abetted it from her communion. Here, according to the principles which I have maintained before you, her power ended. Beyond this we claim no authority; the Church, by divine right, we say, infallibly testifies what doctrines Christ has revealed, and by the same right, in the same manner, decides that what contradicts this revelation is erroneous; but she has no divine authority to make a law which shall strip of their property, or consign to the executioner, those whom she convicts of error. The doctrine of our obligation to submit does not extend to force us to *submit* to a usurpation; and if the Church made a law upon *a subject* beyond her commission for legislation, it would be *invalid;* there would be no proper claim for our obedience;

usurpation does not create a right. The council could by right make the doctrinal decision; but it had no right to make the temporal enactment; and where there exists no right to legislate on one side, there is no obligation of obedience on the other. If this was then a canon of the Church, it was not one in making which she was acting within her constitutional jurisdiction, it was a usurpation of temporal government, and the doctrine of infallibility does not bear upon it

Every document respecting this council, the entire of the evidence respecting it, as well as the very mode of framing the enactments, prove that it was a special law regarding a particular case. The only persons whose errors were condemned at that council were those whom I have described. The general principle of legal exposition restraining the application of penal enactments must here have full weight, and will restrain the application of the penalty to the only criminals brought within its view. But the evidence is still more confirmed by the particular words of definite meaning, *this* and *filth*, which were specially descriptive of only those persons; the first by its very nature, the second by the nature of their crime; and the continued exposition of the enactment restrained its application to the special case, though frequently attempts have been made by individuals to extend its application, not in virtue of the statute, but in virtue of analogy. It would then be improperly forcing its construction to say that its operation was to be general, as it evidently was made only for a particular case.

In viewing the preamble to this council, as well as from our knowledge of history, we discover that this was not merely a council of the Church, but it was also a congress of the civilized world. The state of the times rendered such assemblages not only usual but necessary; and each legislative body did its own business by its own authority; and very generally the subjects which were decided upon by one body in one *point of* view, came under the consideration *of the other assembly in* a different point of view, and their

separate decisions were engrossed upon a joint record. Sometimes they were preserved distinct and separate; but copyists, for their own convenience, brought together all the articles regarding the same subject, from what source soever they were obtained. Such was precisely the case in the instance before us. There were present on this occasion, by themselves or by their legates, the King of Sicily, Emperor-elect of the Romans, the Emperor of the East, the King of France, the King of England, the King of Arragon, the King of Jerusalem, the King of Cyprus, many other kings, lords paramount, sovereign States, and princes. Several of the bishops were princes or barons. In the ecclesiastical council, the third canon terminated exactly in one sentence, which was that of the excommunication or separation from the Church of those whom the first canon had condemned, whatever name or names they might assume; because they had in several places several appellations, and were continually dividing off and changing names as they separated. The duty and the jurisdiction of the council came to this, and the ancient records give no more as the portion of its enactments. But the congress of the temporal powers then made the subsequent part as their enactment; and thus this penal and civil regulation was not an act of the council, but an act of the congress. It is not a canon concerning the doctrine of the Church, nor indeed is it by any means a canon, though the copyists have added it to the canon as regarding the very same subject; and as confessedly the excommunication in the third canon regarded only the special case of those particular heretics, the addition of the penal enactment to this particular canon is confirmatory evidence that those who added it knew that the penalty in the one case was only co-extensive with the excommunication in the other.

Having thus seen that this canon of the Council of *Lateran* was not a doctrinal decision of our Church *establishing* the doctrine of persecution and commanding to *persecute*, but that it was a civil enactment by the temporal

power against persons whom they looked upon as criminals, it is more the province of the politician or of the jurist than of the divine to decide upon its propriety. I may, however, be permitted to say that in my opinion the existence of civilized society required its enactment, though no good man can approve of several abuses which were committed under the pretext of its execution, nor can any rational man pretend that because of the existence of a special law for a particular purpose every case which may be thought analagous to that for which provision was made is to be illegally subjected to those provisions.

We are now arrived at the place where we may easily find the origin and the extent of the papal power of deposing sovereigns and of absolving subjects from their oaths of allegiance. To judge properly of facts, we must know their special circumstances, not their mere outline. The circumstances of Christendom were then widely different from those in which we now are placed. Europe was then under the feudal system. I have seldom found a writer, not a Catholic, who, in treating of that age and that system, has been accurate, and who has not done us very serious injustice. But a friend of mine, who is a respectable member of your honorable body, has led me to read Hallam's account of it; and I must say that I have seldom met with so much candor and, what I call, so much truth. From reading his statement of that system it will be plainly seen that there existed amongst the Christian potentates a sort of federation, in which they bound themselves by certain regulations, and to the observance of those they were held not merely by their oaths, but by various penalties. Sometimes they consented that the penalty should be the loss of their station. It was of course necessary to ascertain that the fact existed before its consequences should be declared to follow; it was also necessary to establish some tribunal to examine and to decide as to the *existence of the fact itself,* and to proclaim that existence. *Amongst independent* sovereigns there was no superior, and

it was natural to fear that mutual jealousy would create great difficulty in selecting a chief; and that what originated in concession might afterwards be claimed as a right. They were, however, all members of one Church, of which the Pope was the head, and in this respect, their common father; and by universal consent it was regulated that he should examine, ascertain the fact, proclaim it, and declare its consequences. Thus he did in reality possess the power of deposing monarchs, and of absolving their subjects from oaths of fealty, but only those monarchs who were members of that federation, and in the cases legally provided for, and by their concession, not by divine right, and during the term of that federation and the existence of his commission. He governed the Church by divine right, he deposed kings and absolved subjects from their allegiance by human concession. I preach the doctrines of my Church by divine right, but I preach from this spot not by that right but by the permission of others.

It is not then a doctrine of our Church that the Pope has been divinely commissioned either to depose kings or to interfere with republics, or to absolve the subjects of the former from their allegiance, or interfere with the civil concerns of the latter. When the persecuted English Catholics, under Elizabeth, found the Pope making an unfounded claim to this right, and upon the shadow of that unfounded right making inroads upon their national independence, by declaring who should or who should not be their temporal ruler, they well showed how little they regarded his absolving them from their allegiance, for they volunteered their services to protect their liberties, which their Catholic ancestors had labored to establish. And she well found that a Catholic might safely be entrusted with the admiralty of her fleet, and that her person was secure amongst her disgraced Catholic nobility and gentry and their *persecuted* adherents; although the Court of Rome had *issued its* bull of absolution, and some divines were found *who endeavored* to prove that what originated in voluntary

concession of States and monarchs was derived from divine institution. If then Elizabeth, of whose character I would not wish in this place to express my opinion, was safe amidst those whom she persecuted for their faith, even when the head of their Church absolved them from allegiance, and if at such a moment they flocked round her standard to repel Catholic invaders who came with consecrated banners, and that it is admitted on all hands that in so doing they violated no principle of doctrine or of discipline of their Church, as we all avow; surely America need not fear for the fidelity of her Catholic citizens, whom she cherishes and whom she receives to her bosom with affection and shelters from the persecution of others. Neither will any person attempt to establish an analogy between our federation and that of feudalism, to argue that the Pope can do amongst us what he did amongst European potentates under circumstances widely different.

It has been frequently objected to us, that our Church has been more extensively persecuting than any other. This is not the place to enter into a comparison of atrocities; but I will assert, that when weighed against each other our scale will be found light indeed. Did any person think proper to conjure up the victims from the grave, I would engage to produce evidence of the inflictions upon us in abundance, until the hairs of our hearers should stand on end, and humanity interpose to prevent the recital. But the crimes of individuals or of assemblies are not the doctrines of a Church.

I had other subjects which I desired to treat of in your presence, but I feel I have trespassed too long upon your patience. Let us go back to our view of religion. We may now say that all the law and the prophets can be reduced to the two great commandments as our blessed Saviour gave them: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, and thy whole soul, and thy whole mind, and with all thy strength; this is the first and *the greatest. Love is* affectionate attachment founded upon

esteem. We seek to know the will of those whom we love that we may bring ours to be in conformity therewith. The will of God is, that we should seek to know what He teaches, because, indeed, He would not have taught without desiring that we should learn. Our Saviour Himself tells His disciples, if they love Him they will keep His Word. The proof, then, of our love is not to be exhibited in our mere declaration, it is to be found in the manifestation of our assiduity to know what our Creator has taught, that it may be the rule of our practice—that we may believe His declarations, obey His injunctions, and adhere to His institutions. As His knowledge surpasses ours, so His declarations may regard facts beyond our comprehension, and our faith be thus built upon the evidence of His Word for things which we have not seen, and His promises exhibit to us the substance of what we hope to enjoy, because He has pledged His veracity, not because our reason makes it manifest. It is our duty to love Him so as to be zealous for discovering what He has taught, that we may pay to Him the homage of our understanding, as well by its exertion as by its submission. Let me then exhort you to this love. Investigate for the purpose of obtaining the knowledge of truth, and then pay the homage of your will by determining to act in conformity with what you shall have discovered. Submit your affections to His law, bring your passions in subjection thereto. Of ourselves we are weak, in His grace we can become strong. His institutions have been established, that through them we might be strengthened in that grace. It is therefore our duty, as it is our interest, to have recourse to them. Reason, religion, wisdom, which is the perfection of both, lead us to this conclusion. It necessarily, then, is incumbent on us to search for where those instutitions are to be found.

The second commandment is like the first: Thou shalt *love thy* neighbor as thyself for the sake of God. The *Apostle* asks us, How can a man say that he loves God

whom he hath not seen, and hate his neighbor whom he seeth? and that neighbor is made in the likeness of God. The Saviour commands us even to love our enemies, to do good to those who hate us, and to pray for those who calumniate and persecute us. Nothing can excuse us from the discharge of this duty, the observance of this great commandment. No difference of religion can form a pretext for non-compliance. Religion, that holy name, has too often been abused for this end, that man might flatter himself with having the sanction of heaven for the indulgence of a bad passion. In these happy and free States we stand upon the equal ground of religious right; we may freely love and bear with each other, and exhibit to Europe a contrast to her jealousies in our affection. By inquiry we shall correct many mistakes, by which our feelings have been embittered; we shall be more bound together in amity, as we become more intimate; and may our harmony and union here below produce that peace and good will emblematic of our enjoyment of more lasting happiness in a better world.

RELIGION OF AMERICAN INDIANS.[1]

In tracing the history of nations, the philosopher discovers the basis upon which he must raise his general observations, because those observations are usually but results drawn from a multitude of facts. For this purpose, the history of the savage is in some degree as necessary as the history of civilized man; because in the one we see the development of our principles and passions unrestrained by the rules of civilization, and in the other we find the consequences of those rules. Thus, the proper aim of philosophy being the discovery of that wisdom which will procure human happiness, the history of the human race is amongst the best studies of the philosopher.

But as man is an immortal being, whose existence continues beyond the span of his sojourn upon this earth, and who will remain in his new state during eternity, the philosopher ought to inquire in the history of the human race for those events which will tend proximately or remotely to elucidate the important concerns of his perpetual happiness; and several of those are to be found in the religion of nations. Leaving for a time the region of revelation, let us examine some of the facts that history presents to our view in those times and places wherein no claim is made, upon sufficient grounds, to supernatural instruction.

A writer who, by his pleasing style and bold manner, drew after him for a time, not only the light and thoughtless body of English readers, but even many of those who were distinguished for intellect, has by a fallacious theory diverted the attention of several men of genius and ability from fact

[1] *An Essay* read at a public meeting of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Charleston, S. C., at the City Hall, on Wednesday, January 10, 1827.

to speculation; leaving the beaten paths of earth, he rose on the wing of imagination and caused his followers to soar above the plain way of events into the clouds of conjecture; and, substituting probability for evidence, he next assumed possibility for fact, and thus created amusing visions for established history. From what had thus been given in place of the proceedings of our predecessors he drew conclusions which were perfectly logical, and nothing was requisite to uphold their truth, save that which was the original deficiency, namely, the correctness of the statement upon which they rested. But a more discriminating age is detecting the aberrations of Mr. Hume, and we, too, may add our little examination to the general fund of evidence from which more useful materials may be procured by those who build their systems upon observation and not upon imagination.

One of this gentleman's theories was, that polytheism was the original religion of men, and that this original religion was created by an affrighted fancy. Yet even for this he deserves not the credit of originality, as a pagan poet had been amongst his leaders in the assertion; and with as little support from former fact, as might be easily seen. Mr. Hume proceeds from this assumption to state, that as man became enlightened, his reason corrected the superstition of his terror, and brought him to acknowledge the unity and supremacy of the Deity; hence, he would conclude, that man has no knowledge of religion except from the progress of his reason, and that the notion of revealed religion is a delusion. If the facts were as the essayist assumed, his conclusions would be good. But if history will destroy the assumed correctness of his statements, his argument has no foundation. Hence, the investigation becomes to all men a matter of importance, and it would appear to be the duty of each nation to bear testimony to the facts which come under its own view.

If man had been originally a savage, who reasoned himself into civilization, and as he became civilized cast

away his superstitions and religious errors, of which polytheism was the most absurd; the savage who chases the deer through our wilderness and who is by the opponents of revelation said to invoke the Great Spirit, who is one and impervious to the senses, must surpass in his civilization the philosophers of Greece, the merchants of Egypt and of Tyre, and the senate and the people of Rome. "Red-Jacket" is superior to Solon or to Cicero, "The Mad Tiger" is preferable to Socrates or to Virgil. Horace and Pliny must bow to the superior wisdom of "The Sleeping Wolf" and of "The Cat that Watches." Besides the absurdity of such consequences, which flow legitimately from the assumed principle and supposed fact, we have in safe history undoubted evidence that theism was man's first religion, from which he degenerated, and that the savage was not his original state. Sir William Jones in his essay on the gods of Greece, Italy, and India, very rationally elucidates the first of these positions, but I have seen it far better treated and upon a more extensive scale by a French writer of the last century. The proof of the latter position cannot be mistaken or overlooked by any attentive reader of ancient history, and the writer to whom I have alluded finely shows the progress of tribes to barbarism in the early ages of the world. When we cast our eyes upon Egypt, Persia, Greece, and the northwestern coast of Africa, we need scarcely recollect the shade which passed over Europe to confirm in our minds the truth that a civilized people may degenerate, and that the human mind is not steadily and uniformly progressive. There is a delusive semblance of philosophy which constructs theories by the force of imagination, and then regulates the nature of occurences to harmonize with these preconcerted systems. There is also a duty which even to the philosopher is not always easy: that of reconciling minor facts to a principal occurrence of whose truth he has convincing evidence. In this *case, candor,* patience, and industry will generally insure *success in* our attempt to remove the apparent incompatibil-

ies, which at first sight startle the inexperienced, prevent ıe progress of the idle, and give occasion to the false ›nclusions of the thoughtless.

Of this description is the difficulty which presents itself hen we view the varieties of the human race, in conjunc-on with the fact that all those beings are the descendants f Noe. The difference of color, the difference of structure, ıe difference of religion, the difference of customs, and the ɜparation of continents, have been obstacles to the admis-on of the common origin at a period so comparatively ɜcent. I shall not touch upon the first two topics, but I ıall advert a little to the others; though the facts upon hich my observations will rest shall not be all adduced ı the present essay.

I wish to make a passing remark upon the theory of Mr. lume, before I enter more deeply upon my subject. We now that our red brethren are far from being civilized. Ve know that the inhabitants of Greece were much polished; ıat the Romans excelled us in many of the accomplishments f the social state. Yet those Greeks and Romans were olytheists, and our Indian is said to be a theist. If the ndian, by the exercise of his reason, rose from polytheism, e must have risen from the barbarous state of the Greek ıd Roman, to his own state of superior civilization, or he as in his rude state preserved the original religion of his ıthers, and thus their original religion was theism. No erson will venture to make the first assertion. Mr. Hume ould not permit us to make the second. But is the name f any man to impede our progress from the premises › a conclusion? In truth, they who declaim against the assalage of the human mind to religion, will be found pon inquiry to be its worst tyrants. But, although the iscovery might not be made upon our continent, to the ıtiquarian this exhibition is not new. Nations have been ›und when the Roman eagle soared in his loftiest flight ıd the Roman people bowed in their most degrading *olatry, who would have* been called barbarian, and these

people, if not theists, had very limited polytheism. The Irish druid is said by many antiquarians to have been a theist. Evidence of his religion remains, but no evidence has been exhibited to show that his religion regarded more than one God; though that God was Baal. The Persian worshiped fire, yet it is not so clearly established that his adoration was always paid to the element and not to the Deity of whom earthly and celestial fire were only emblems.

If our opponent argues that the diversity of religion creates suspicion of a diversity of origin, he must allow the force of the principle that similarity of religious belief and worship seems to indicate a common origin. Indeed, though neither is fully evident, the latter is much the more probable. Few centuries have elapsed since European Christians were members of a common Church, and had almost universal singleness of faith; into how many sects are they now divided, and how many families are so opposed in belief as that they who are united by the closest ties of nature are at perfect variance upon the score of religion? But if we discover a similarity between the religious observances of the American, and the Persian, and the Hindoo, we may more naturally conclude that they have sprung from a common stock, whence they brought those observances, or had a common teacher, or some intercourse by means of which one learned from the other; because it would contradict our experience to assert that this agreement is the result of accident.

The French writer, to whom I have before alluded, traces the human family from its renewal after the deluge through its subsequent migrations, and finds in climate, in soil, in customs produced by special necessities and by occurrences of which we have in several instances good historical evidence, sufficient cause for the variance of worship and the origin of polytheism. The mythology of several *portions of* mankind is in admirable accordance with what *he lays* down. Thus, the Egyptian found in the very lack

f his garden a portion of that great spirit which ani-
ıated the universe, and which poured fertility upon the
ınd, when from the hidden recess of his dwelling he com-
ıunicated himself through the medium of water. The Per-
ian beheld his glories in the sun, and the heat of fire was
he sacred mode through which his blessings were bestowed.
n Scandinavia he spoke in the whirlwind, and passed
long creating the solemnity of terror, and acknowledged
y the howlings of the invisible spirits of the forest; his
bode was on the summit of the rocks, or in the recesses
f caverns, and his rage urged on the desolating flood; far
rom exhibiting his beneficence by water, he gave it in his
rath. Thus, the Scandinavian abhorred what the Egyptian
orshiped.

I believe, then, that to the calm and unbiased investi-
ator of ancient history and of the customs and religious
bservances of those nations which have not been blessed
ith the light of revelation, it will appear that the original
eligion of mankind was theism, and that the several systems
f polytheism and idolatry will appear to have arisen from
arious circumstances in different places, joined to the cor-
uption of man's heart and the feebleness of his intellect;
nd that many kinds of superstition having thus arisen
mongst a people whose ancestors had a common religion
rescribing the worship of one God, the characters of those
everal superstitions were originally unlike, but having once
een established in the primitive nations, the observances
ould continue with some alterations in those nations and
ı their colonies, and hence, that a striking similitude of
eligious observances between two tribes would lead to the
onclusion that they had a common origin.

Of course the resemblance must be striking, and the
oincidence, however exact, can form but one link of the
hain which would bind them in a common origin. Upon
ıis subject I shall close my observations with an extract
om a *dissertation by* Sir William Jones, *in whose senti-
ents, as here given,* I fully concur:

"We cannot justly conclude, by arguments preceding the proof of facts, that one idolatrous people must have borrowed their deities, rites, and tenets from another; since gods of all shapes and dimensions may be framed by the boundless powers of imagination, or by the fraud and follies of men, in countries never connected. But when features of resemblance, too strong to have been accidental, are observable in different systems of polytheism, without fancy or prejudice to color them and improve the likeness, we can scarcely help believing that some connection has immemorially subsisted between the several nations who have adopted them. It is my design in this essay to point out such a resemblance between the popular worship of the old Greeks and Italians, and that of the Hindoos; nor can there be any room to doubt of a great similarity between their strange religions and those of Egypt, China, Persia, Phœnice, Syria; to which perhaps we may safely add some of the southern kingdoms, and even islands of America; while the Gothic system, which prevailed in the northern regions of Europe, was not merely similar to that of Greece and Italy, but almost the same in another dress, with an embroidery of images apparently Asiatic. From all these, if it can be satisfactorily proved, we may infer a union or affinity between the most distinguished inhabitants of the primitive world at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God."

The learned and philosophical author compiled the essay in which this is found in the year 1784. In his discourse "On the Origin of Families and Nations," delivered before the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, on the 23d of February, 1792, he states as a corollary from testimonies adduced in six previous annual discourses, the great likelihood "that the tribes of Mish, Cush and Rama settled in Africa and India; while some of them, having improved the art of *sailing*, passed from Egypt, Phœnice, Phrygia, into Italy *and Greece*, which they found thinly peopled by former *emigrants*, of whom they supplanted some tribes, and united

themselves with others; whilst a swarm from the same hive moved by a northerly course into Scandinavia, and another by the head of the Oxus, and through the passes of the Imaus into Cashgher and Eighur, Khata and Khoten, as far as the territories of Chin and Tancut, where letters have been used and arts immemorially cultivated; nor is it unreasonable to believe that some of them found their way from the eastern isles into Mexico and Peru, where traces were discovered of rude literature and mythology, analogous to those of Egypt and India."

As my aim is to excite my associates and fellow-citizens to investigate the history of the aboriginal inhabitants of our rising and prosperous country, I may be again permitted to make an interesting extract from the work of the great President of the Asiatic Society, as it will exhibit in that elder continent the attainment of a result which I am convinced must always be found the consequence of impartial, and judicious, and truly philosophical investigation. I would desire to urge forward on this continent those who have more leisure, more opportunity, and better qualifications than I can pretend to. I would entreat of them fully to investigate the history of a race too quickly, I fear, about to disappear from the land of their fathers, and to place on record those facts whose truth could be established, in the hope, and indeed with the confidence, that in America the result would be the same as it has been found in Asia, as is testified and proved by Sir William Jones.

"In the first place, we cannot surely deem it an inconsiderable advantage, that all our historical researches have confirmed the Mosaic accounts of the primitive world; and our testimony on that subject ought to have the greater weight, because, if the result of our observations had been totally different, we should nevertheless have published them, not indeed with equal pleasure, but with equal confidence, for truth is mighty, and whatever be its consequence, must *always prevail. But independently* of our interest in corroborating the multiplied evidences of revealed religion, we

could scarcely gratify our minds with a more useful and rational entertainment than the contemplation of those wonderful revolutions in kingdoms and States, which have happened within little more than four thousand years; revolutions almost as fully demonstrative of an all-ruling Providence, as the structure of the universe and the final causes, which are discernible in its whole extent and even in its minutest parts. Figure to your imagination a moving picture of that eventful period, or rather a succession of crowded scenes rapidly changed. Three families migrate in different courses from one region, and in about four centuries establish very distant governments and various modes of society. Egyptians, Indians, Goths, Phenicians, Celts, Greeks, Latins, Chinese, Peruvians, Mexicans, all, sprung from the same immediate stem, appear to start nearly at one time, and occupy at length those countries, to which they have given or from which they have derived their names. In twelve or thirteen hundred years more, the Greeks overrun the land of their forefathers, invade India, conquer Egypt, and aim at universal dominion. But the Romans appropriate to themselves the whole empire of Greece, and carry their arms into Britain, of which they speak with haughty contempt. The Goths, in the fullness of time, break to pieces the unwieldy colossus of Roman power, and seize on the whole of Britain, except its wild mountains; but even those wilds become subject to other invaders of the same Gothic lineage. During all these transactions, the Arabs possess both coasts of the Red Sea, subdue the old seat of their first progenitors, and extend their conquests on one side, through Africa into Europe itself and on another beyond the borders of India, part of which they annex to their flourishing empire. In the same interval, the Tartars, widely diffused over the rest of the globe, swarm into the northeast, whence they rush to complete the reduction of Constantine's beautiful domains, to *subjugate* China, to raise in these Indian realms a dynasty *splendid* and powerful, and to ravage, like the two other

amilies, the devoted regions of Iran. By this time the Mexicans and the Peruvians, with many races of adventurers variously intermixed, have peopled the continent and sles of America, which the Spaniards, having restored their ld government in Europe, discover, and in part overcome. But a colony from Britain, of which Cicero ignorantly eclared that it contained nothing valuable, obtain the possession, and finally the sovereign dominion of extensive merican districts, whilst other British subjects acquire a ubordinate empire in the finest provinces in India, which ne victorious troops of Alexander were unwilling to attack. his outline of human transactions, as far as it includes the imits of Asia, we can only hope to fill up, to strengthen nd to color by the help of Asiatic literature; for in history s in law, we must not follow streams, when we may investigate fountains, nor admit any secondary proof, where primary evidence is attainable."

The discourse from which this is extracted was delivered n the 28th of February, 1793. Little more than thirty ears have elapsed since that period, and how many astonshing revolutions have occurred! Take the map of Europe s it then was and compare it with what is now placed efore the world. Events which might be spread over the pages which history allots to centuries are crowded within portion of the tablet which is given to individual recollection. Crowns are immersed in the blood of those whom they were given to decorate. Wild anarchy celebrates her orgies amid the mangled corpses of a devoted nation, and dares to pollute the sacred name of freedom with her blaspheming lips. The very divisions of time are changed to attempt the obliteration of that first institution of the Creator, which gives rest to the weary and hope to the desponding. The vilest outcasts of the more virtuous sex are placed upon the altars of the living God for homage of those men who boasted that they were to illuminate a benighted world. Congregated potentates of Europe are *resisted successfully by a stripling to whom this nation*

entrusts her destinies; almost each of her capitals sees him seated above her throne, and almost every one of her monarchs is the creature of his will, until the blasphemy has ceased and the impiety is removed. Then he who was in himself a dynasty becomes a captive and perishes in prison as singular in its construction as was the career of him whose ashes it contains.

How rapid also has been the progress of this western hemisphere within that little time! Here too the work of centuries has been accomplished in less than half a century. Britain, it is true, possesses one million of subjects on our northern frontier; can these be the American districts of which the president of the Asiatic Society boasted that Britain had the sovereignty? At the time of the delivery of his discourse, perhaps some lurking hope remained that the old colonies would request the protection of their former stepmother. But that hope has long since been extinguished, and forever; where three millions of subjects had been in a state of political dependence, and several of them under religious disqualification, now over ten millions of freemen enjoy all the advantages of civil and religious liberty: their flag is seen on every ocean, and their consuls reside in every port. The Spaniard too has lost his dominion, and on the south as in the west, the progress of freedom and of improvement is indeed astonishing. And may I be permitted to add the expression of my hope that "the beautiful domains of Constantine" may receive, from heaven and from earth, sufficient aid to be at length successful in their effort to expel the drones of the northeastern hive?

But what has been my object in this apparent digression? To show that when we calculate upon the progress of events by the progress of time, we are frequently led to erroneous conclusions. Frequently indeed appearing to accelerate his pace, he seems to outstrip events, and a century would, by *some* whose system of analogy is too perfect for an imperfect *state* of being, be charged as erroneously inserted. At other *times* the philosophist, though the evidence of facts

rfect, would by speculation prove to his own satisfaction, l to the amusement of others, that it was impossible for se occurrences to have taken place within the period igned in the record. He would thus treat history with little mercy as Procrustes treated his guests.

I would propose that such speculations should be altoher laid aside, that we should endeavor to follow that an upon which the Asiatic Society proceeded, that we ould in America endeavor to discover, and to discuss, and preserve those facts connected with the aborigines of our ntry, which might tend not only to exhibit much curious d interesting information to gratify the public, but which uld greatly tend to elucidate subjects which are of great portance to the whole human race.

My present object is to lay before you some general servations which I think arise from the view of facts pecting the religion of the aboriginal possessors of this st continent. Those which I shall exhibit are few and ficient of interest in themselves, but they may prove in eir result very useful to lead us to rational conclusions to the origin of this people. I am aware that my formation is extremely limited upon this subject, but obably some of the facts upon which my observations it are not very generally known, and my effort will at events, I trust, produce the one good effect of eliciting the public benefit much more extensive and interesting tails than I have had the leisure or the opportunity to lect. The facts to which I refer are testified by the ssionaries of the Roman Catholic Church, and are such have fallen under their own observation during their idence in the midst of the tribes whose language they rned and whose customs they carefully observed, that y might be able to discharge the solemn duty in which y were engaged. The relators are persons who had eived the most liberal education, and who voluntarily *inquished all the* advantages of civilized society, and *ied themselves in* the depths of the wilderness, exposed

to every privation and affliction, for the sake of bearing the testimony of truth to a neglected portion of their brethren; they foresaw the probability of martyrdom, and it was not unfrequently the recompense of their laborious devotion to the Gospel of truth. Their letters were not intended generally for publication, but were the official communications of what was their observation of the progress which they made, transmitted to their superiors. Thus we may safely look upon them as good witnesses, being competent and faithful.

In a former part of this essay, I used the assertion of those who, whilst they denied the truth of revelation, asserted that our Indian tribes were pure theists, who worshiped only one God. In order to refute their assumed principle, and to destroy that theory which they have substituted for history, I now come to the examination of the questions: Is the religion of the Indian tribes of America pure theism, or are they idolaters? Have they any religious system? And if they have, what is its leading characteristic?

Father Sebastian Rasles, a Jesuit, who was slain at Narantsonak, an Indian settlement, in what is now the State of Maine, on the 23d of August, 1724, left France in July, 1689, for the missions of Canada, and arrived on the 13th of October, in the same year, at Quebec, when he immediately commenced the study of the Indian languages. Father de la Chasse, of the same society, and superior of the missions of New France, writes of him in the month of October, subsequent to his death: "We were surprised at the facility with which he could acquire languages, and the application with which he sought the knowledge of the dialects of the different tribes. There is not a dialect on this continent of which he had not some tincture. Besides the language of the Abnakis, which he spoke during a long period, he knew also the Huron tongue, that of the Ottaways and that of the Illinois; he had served with great fruit in *the several* missions where they are used."

In the month of October, preceding his death, Father

s wrote to his brother a very long letter, giving an
ıe of his labors and observations, during upwards of
years' continual residence in one or other of the
which occupied the range of country from Kaskaskia
ake Superior, and skirting the then British settlements
l on the north to the mouth of the Kennebec. In
he remarks, that he found the general principle of
superstition was the same as that which he discovered
gst the Ottowas. This people, he states, worship Man-
and the description which he gives of this worship
a strong similitude to that which we find amongst
nations, save that their worship was not generally
c and social, but private and paid by them individ-
Though they speak of spirits, yet being acquainted
with sensible objects, especially the animals found in
country, they imagine that in these animals, or rather
eir skins or plumage, there exist Manitous, or Genii,
)irits who govern the universe, and are the masters
'e and death. They call the great spirit of all beasts
birds Oussakita, or, as we would pronounce it, Was-
. There are Manitous who preside over nations, and
individual has his own. When they went to hunt
made offerings of tobacco, powder, and lead, and of
kins of beasts, well dressed, to Wassakita. The offer-
vas fastened to the end of a pole and raised on high,
ıpanied by a prayer to the following effect:—"Wassa-
we present to thee the herb for smoke, and the
s of slaying beasts: vouchsafe to receive these presents,
do not permit the game to escape our track; allow
kill them in great numbers, and of the very fattest,
our children may not want either clothing or food."
chibichi was the Manitou of the waters and of fish,
sacrifice was offered to him in nearly the same man-
when they were going to fish or make a voyage.
sacrifice was made by casting into the waters tobacco,
kettles, etc., beseeching him that the waters of the
might flow gently, that no rock should break the
and that he would grant them abundance of fish.

I am greatly inclined to believe that the mode in v individuals selected their Manitous is the foundatio those names of Indians which are so peculiar to our rigines. The subject might, perhaps, be worth an inq unless more be known concerning it than I am as aware of. The account given by Father Rasles of selection is as follows:

"When an Indian wishes to adopt a Manitou, the animal which presents itself to his imagination during is generally that which he selects. He kills one of description, and places the skin or plumage in the respectable part of his hut; then he prepares a feas its honor, during which he makes his harangue in t the most respectful. Thenceforward it is recognized as Manitou."

He also gives an account of the manner in which Indian uses this consecrated spoil: "Besides the con Manitou, each has his own individually, which is eith bear, or a beaver, or a bustard, or some such an He carries the skin of this animal with him to war hunting expeditions, and on his journeys; he is persu that it will preserve him from every danger, and him successful in his enterprises."

Amongst the different tribes through which he pa from leaving the Hurons and Ottowas and arriving in country of Illinois, he reckons, of different tongues, following tribes: Maskoutings, Jakis, Omikoues, Iripego Outagamis. Most of those names probably differ in mode of spelling from that by which we should t recognize them. However, in 1768, Carver informs us the Ottegamias were met by him, but farther west; in 1780 Hutchins mentions them as a considerable trit Illinois. Between those five nations and the Ottowas states the only difference is in language, consequently, were worshipers of the Manitous.

The next piece of evidence which I adduce is fou *upon the* testimony of Father Gabriel Marest, of the

society, in a letter written by him to Father German, also a Jesuit. It is dated from Kaskaskia, November 9, 1732. Father Rasles was still living, but had been fourteen or fifteen years withdrawn from the mission of Illinois and stationed amongst the Abnakis. In stating the situation of the place from which he writes, he informs the person to whom his letter is addressed, that the Illinois discharges itself into the Mississippi in little less than the 39th degree of latitude. I believe it is but about eight minutes south of the 39th degree, upon our best modern maps. Seven leagues below this he fixes the mouth of the Missouri, which, he writes, was better known then by the name of Pekitanoui, or the muddy river. After describing the country as far as the Wabash, and fixing the latitude of Kaskaskia in the 38th degree, where it appears on our modern maps, he proceeds to give the account of the people who occupied the country.

It would be hard, he writes, to say what was their religion, for it consisted only in some superstitious practices by which their credulity was imposed upon; and giving similar reasons as those which we have before seen for the worship of the Manitous in the manner described, he proceeds to a more particular detail.

"The warriors," he writes, "carry their Manitous in a mat, and unceasingly invoke them to be victorious over their enemies; the charlatans likewise have recourse to their Manitous, when they compose their medicine or heal their sick; they accompany those invocations with songs and dances, and frightful contortions, to create the belief that they are agitated by their Manitous." "Who, they say, can resist the power of the Manitou? Is he not the master of life and of death? If the patient dies, the death is attributed to some occurrence which took place after the departure of the charlatan." I have seen in one of the letters an account of an attack made upon an Iroquois Christian, as the death of a woman who had been under *the influence of the* Manitous, was attributed by the char-

latan to the repetition of the beads. Father Marest relates a similar occurrence within a month previous to the date of this letter in Illinois, and also gives an account of many narrow escapes of his own on similar occasions. This Father places upon record the account of a very curious public conference, which took place some time previous to the date of his letter, between Father Marmet and one of the conjurers of the tribe of Mascoutens, who dwelt upon the Wabash. The conjuror adored a buffalo as his Manitou. The Father gradually brought him to declare that it was not the buffalo, but the Manitou of the buffalo, which was under the earth, was the object of his adoration, and that it was this Manitou which did benefit to his patients; he farther brought him to acknowledge that the bear, the wolf, and the other animals whose Manitous his countrymen adored were also powerless. He then asked if man, who was the master of beasts, had not a special Manitou, to which the other answered, that doubtless he had, whence the Father drew the inference from him, that as man had dominion over the beasts, the Manitou of man was superior to all others, and that it was folly to invoke those who were subordinate, to the utter neglect of him who was superior. Whatever the force of the reasoning might have been, it was lost upon the conjurer and his followers.

The fact of sacrifice being offered to the Manitou is very clearly established in this letter of Father Marest. He states that a great mortality occurred amongst the Indians on the Wabash, near the station of Father Marmet. During the prevalence of the sickness, the conjurers, finding the deaths increase, held a solemn assembly, at which nearly forty dogs were slain, and the victims, thus immolated, were lifted on poles and offered to the Manitou, in order to implore the removal of the plague. When the mortality increased they attributed it to their Manitou having been overcome by the Deity of the French, and the chief conjurer made a procession round the fort, acknowledging that life and death were in the hands of the Manitou of the French,

and that the Indians were almost exterminated, and entreating the good Manitou to keep death back and to send forth life from his coffer, that they might be healed. An instance of an opposite description is also testified in this letter. Father Bergier, the missionary in the village of the Tamarouas, having died, the conjurers came into the village after the departure of Father Marest, who had interred him, and danced with great joy round the cross which had been planted in the centre of the village, each boasting as he sung that it was his Manitou that caused the missionary's death; they concluded by pulling up the cross and breaking it to pieces.

Coming down farther on the Mississippi, we shall make, for the present, but a transitory visit to the Natchez. In the month of July, 1730, Father Petit, of New Orleans, gave an account of the massacre committed upon the French at Natchez, on the 28th of the preceding November, to Father Avaugour, the procurator of the North American missions.

In this letter he states that the Natchez is the only nation on this continent that appears to have a system of religion regularly established, and he finds much similarity between some of their practices and religious customs and those of the ancient Romans. Probably we shall draw different conclusions at another time, than that the aborigines of this continent either were a Roman colony, or derived their religion from Italy. I shall at present confine myself to a mere recital of facts, of whose truth I am convinced by the testimony. At Natchez they had a temple filled with idols; those idols were figures of men and beasts, and were held in the highest veneration. The architecture was indeed rude; the place had the appearance of a large oven of earth, about one hundred feet in circumference, and the entrance to its interior was through a door of only four feet in height, by three wide; it had no window, and the roof was protected by a triple covering of mats. On the outside were the wooden figures of three eagles, one white, one red,

and one yellow; in front of the door was a porch, with an outer door; the guardian of the temple held his station in this porch; a palisade enclosed the whole; and on this were placed the skulls of those whom their warriors had slain.

Within the temple were shelves upon which the bones of their chieftains were kept in baskets, and those of their attendants, who were immolated to accompany them in death, were placed near the remains of the chief. But one shelf, which stood alone, had several painted boxes, in which the idols were kept; they were stone and brick figures of men and women, the heads and tails of extraordinary serpents, the skins of owls stuffed with grass, pieces of crystal, and the jaws of large fishes. In the year 1699, they had a bottle and the bottom of a glass which they preserved with great care. The sisters of the great chief were the only women who had permission to enter the temple, and only some of the men had the privilege; the common people were not allowed even to carry in the food which was to be placed near the relics of their friends, to satisfy their spirits, but it was carried by the guardian. About a century since the nation had six villages only, but each possessed its temple; however, their statement was that at one period they had sixty towns, in each of which there was an edifice of this kind.

I suspected, at first, that the idols might have been only kept as in a museum, more as objects of curiosity than for the purposes of worship; but a little examination soon convinced me that this conjecture was unfounded, as I perceived distinct evidence to the contrary. Two great festivals were annually celebrated at the temple, at the termination of each of which, in the exhortation to the discharge of duty given by the chief, the principal and concluding admonition regarded the worship of the spirits which resided in the temple, and the instruction of the children in their religious *duties to them*. In the year 1702, the temple of Natchez *was destroyed* by lightning, and seven or eight women,

who cast their children into the flames for the purpose of appeasing the gods by the sacrifice of what they held most dear, were publicly applauded for this act of religion by the chief, who also exhorted the other women, on similar occasions, to imitate so excellent an example. The first fruits of the harvest were also brought to be offered at this temple, and all gifts made to the nation were first presented within, by the guardian, to the deities, before they were taken to the chief, who subsequently distributed them. A perpetual fire was kept burning herein, but great care was taken to prevent its blazing; the guardian, who during his quarter of duty staid in the porch, had care of this fire; the old men brought the fuel, which was either oak or walnut tree, and the logs were never laid over each other lest a blaze should be produced.

The chief appoints the guardians of the temple. But the sun was their principal object of adoration, and the chief was therefore styled the brother of the sun, and his hut was always built upon an elevated mound of earth, and of a similar appearance with the temple itself. At sunrise he came out to salute his elder brother with three cries, for which purpose his door was open to the east. After this salutation he called for his calumet, and offered the three first whiffs of smoke from his tobacco, then he pointed out the course which his brother was to travel to the west, and thus concluded his morning service.

Father Petit also informs us that when the Natchez went to war, the head warriors carried their idols, which they called their spirits, securely wrapped up in skins, and in the evening when they were about to encamp they hung those idols upon a red pole, fixed in a slanting way, so that the idols should hang at the side where their enemies lay. Before lying down the warriors danced singly before them, each with his tomahawk bravely menacing the distant foe. The doctors, also, when they attended their patients carried their spirits, as they called them, in their baskets, and made frequent invocations to them for aid during their

stay or their operations. Other conjurers regulated the weather, and some undertook to procure drought, whilst the powers of others extended only to rain, it being acknowledged that the same spirit or idol could not procure both. Father Petit, who has given this account during his priority at New Orleans, had previously spent a considerable time amongst the Choctaws.

One consideration forces itself upon the mind. If the Indians of this continent had been theists, they would have been almost an exception to those other hordes of whom we have any history, and must have appeared so to those missionaries who would not have failed to notice the difference and to mention the fact; but they, on the contrary, call them idolaters, and place them on a level with the uncivilized tribes of whom the Church had in all ages numerous accounts, and who were almost universally polytheists. The history of their Manitous, and of the gradations, and of the opposition of those Manitous, and of the opposition supposed to exist between the Indian and the French Manitous, is plainly exhibited. The worship of the sun and of idols in the temple of Natchez and in the other temples of that nation, all tend clearly to the conclusion that the aboriginal Indians of what is now the middle range of our States, were polytheists, and as we have reason to believe that their religion was a correct general exhibition of that of their brethren, I think it may be fairly deduced that the religion of North America was polytheism. Such also was that of most nations when, following their own devices, they swerved from the ancient religion of their progenitors, which was the worship of one God, as we have good proof, from history and from other monuments, to establish.

PEN PICTURES OF ROME.[1]

I.

On Thursday, June 26, a public consistory was held in the ducal chamber at the Vatican for the purpose of giving their hats to the new cardinals, viz., Tiberi, Bishop of Jeoci, in the Papal States, and late Nuncio in Spain, who was created cardinal September 30, 1831, and reserved *in petto;* his resignation published July 2, 1832, but who had arrived in Rome only within the previous week; Canali, Bottiglia, and Polidori. The four new cardinals went to the Sistine Chapel, at the altar of which they were successively sworn in presence of the Cardinal-dean, Pacca, first of the order of bishops,—Cardinal Galleffi, Camerlengo of the holy Roman Church, Cardinal Odescalchi, vice-chancellor, Doria-Pamphilia, first cardinal-priest present, Rivarola, first cardinal-deacon present, Mattei, Cardinal Camerlengo of the sacred college, and the Most Rev. Lui Frezza, Archbishop of Chalcedon, secretary of the congregation of consistory and of the sacred college.

The sala regia, or royal hall, of the Vatican palace is a splendid room of vast extent, to which you ascend by the scala regia, or royal staircase, which is a magnificent flight of steps between the Church of St. Peter and the Vatican palace. As you enter you have on your right, at one extremity of the hall, the gate which leads into the Pauline Chapel; on turning towards the left and advancing about fifty or sixty feet into the room, you have on your left the gate of the Sistine Chapel, and on your

[1] These sketches were written during Bishop England's second visit to Rome to attend to the affairs of the Haytian Legation, and appeared in 1834.

right that of the sala ducale or ducal hall. On entering this hall, which is about fifty feet wide, it was found that the consistory was assembled. At the farther extremity, about one hundred feet distant, an elevated platform, to which there was an ascent of three steps, extended across the room; at either extremity was a large and massy door, tastefully decorated; raised on the platform midway between them, under a canopy of crimson and gold, the Papal throne was elevated three steps more, having on each side the flabelli displayed. The Pope was clothed in a rich cope, wearing a plain mitre of cloth of gold, with his domestic prelates, principal officers, civil and military, and the guard of nobles occupying the platform on each side. In front, at a moderate distance, the bench for cardinals ranged at each side, and crossed nearly towards the third part of the hall, forming three sides of a parallelogram. The cardinal-dean sat at the inner extremity towards the Pope's right hand, wearing his purple cappa, with his train-bearers seated at his feet; five other cardinal-bishops sat on his right in their successive order, then the cardinal-priests according to their seniority; opposite the cardinal-dean the third senior cardinal-deacon sat, at the inner extremity of the bench, towards the left of His Holiness and his junior brethren, extending outwards on his left, until the junior deacon was found near the junior priest; the two senior deacons stood on either side of the Pope. All the cardinals were similarly habited and attended. The Prince Orsini, the head of the ancient Guelph family and present senator of Rome, stood as prince-assistant at the throne on the right of the first cardinal-deacon. On your right, as you entered the room, a beautiful and convenient gallery, with open lattice-work in front, had been erected for ladies, of whom there were several; the number that might be thus accommodated would be at least one hundred and fifty. Under these galleries, behind the cardinal-deacons and junior priests, there were accommodations for prelates and distinguished strangers. I observed in this

place Captain Read, of the *Constellation* frigate, and some of his officers. The space immediately next the cardinals' bench was occupied by the Swiss guard, drawn up in line across the hall, in their ancient costume, and having their spears. The rest of the room was filled with monks, friars, officers, civil and military, priests and laymen, of all nations and tongues.

Silence was proclaimed. Some of the consistorial advocates addressed the Holy Father upon various subjects in the way of motions for consistorial decisions. Amongst them was one who made the preliminary motion for proceeding to the beatification of the venerable servant of God, Maria Clotilda Xavier, of Bourbon, a queen of Sardinia. Eight cardinals then left the hall—they were the deacons and junior priests—to introduce from the Sistine Chapel the four cardinals who had just previously taken the oaths. These four arrived in the hall, going successively to the throne and kissing the Pope's right foot and right hand, after which the Holy Father embraced him. They next went to their brethren of the sacred college, commencing with the cardinal-dean, and were embraced by each of them successively in like manner. After this each went on his knees before the Holy Father, who, with the proper prayer and suitable admonition, placed the red hats on their heads successively, gave his blessing and retired. The cardinals then went to the Sistine Chapel with their newly admitted brethren; here the *Te Deum* was chanted in superior style, at the conclusion of which the proper prayer was said for the new cardinals, who were again embraced by their brethren, of whom only thirty-one were present. In the evening each new cardinal visited St. Peter's Church, then the cardinal-dean, and returning home had a party of his friends, and appeared in full dress. During the assembly the keeper of the Pope's wardrobe brought the hat in state, and delivered it with a suitable address, to which the cardinal made an appropriate answer. The palaces of the city were illuminated.

As a sort of supplement, I might add that on the same afternoon the Pope received in the kindest manner, in his gardens, the visit of Captain Read, his lady, the chaplain (a Presbyterian clergyman), and eight or ten officers of the *Constellation* frigate, amongst whom there was only one Catholic, Lieutenant Francis Rall, of the marines; they were presented by Mr. Cicognani, the Consul of the United States.

II.

The great festival of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, was celebrated on Sunday, June 29, with the usual solemnity. Of course, you are aware that the celebration commences at first vespers; the Church in her celebration of public offices following the ancient Judaic mode of observing the ecclesiastical day, from evening until evening. At this point, therefore, all the great festivals commence.

The weather, at this time of the year, is nearly as warm as in Charleston, S. C.; the thermometer generally being, at midday, about 27° of Reaumur or 92° of Fahrenheit, without any sea breeze. There are, therefore, very few strangers in the city; hence, although I should suppose there were upwards of fifteen thousand persons at St. Peter's, it appeared almost deserted.

The procession left that hall of the Vatican which is called the robing-room at about half past five o'clock. It was not very large. The number of extraordinary chamberlains and chaplains, together with the other ecclesiastical officers who preceded the cross, in red sutanes and surplices, did not appear to be over one hundred; probably an equal number of civil officers. The sub-deacon, accompanied by his seven acolytes, followed them; behind him were the porters of the red staff. The Swiss guards, in their ordinary dress, now dotted the remainder of the procession on either side; then followed the greater prelates under the episcopal order, probably about forty, and the twelve penitentiaries

of St. Peter's in red chasubles. The number of assistant bishops in red copes and plain white mitres was ten, the two junior of whom were the Right Rev. Dr. Baine, Bishop of Siga and Vicar Apostolic of the western district of England, and the Bishop of Charleston. They were followed by the cardinal-deacons, about six in number, clothed in their dalmatics and mitred, having their train-bearers and other attendants. After them came about thrice as many cardinal-priests, mitred, wearing chasubles, and similarly attended; they were followed by five of the cardinal-bishops, mitred, wearing copes, and similarly attended. The governor of Rome, the Prince Orsini, who is senator of Rome and assistant at the throne, together with the deputation from the Roman magistracy, surrounded by the general staff of the military, the guard of nobles and the mace-bearers, and a special detachment of the Swiss, carrying large two-handed swords, followed. In the midst of this division came the Pope, in a cope and mitre of plain cloth of gold, having on either side the two senior cardinal-deacons then in the city, and followed by the major-domo, the treasurer, the chamberlain, the rest of the household, and a number of others.

As soon as His Holiness arrived in the ducal hall, he was conducted to his chair, which was immediately raised upon their shoulders by the grooms in attendance, and was thus borne to the altar. The procession continued to advance through the royal hall, down the scala regia, until it arrived at the equestrian statue of Constantine, which is on your left as you descend, and about three-fourths of the space down to the ground-floor; then, turning to the right, it descended by a few steps into the vestibule of the great Church of St. Peter. Here, the chapter of this basilica and its clerks, with the archpriest, Cardinal Galeffi, at the head, about sixty or seventy in number, received the array, allowing it to pass through two lines formed facing inward, in which *the chapter* and clergy stood arranged, in the *centre of the vestibule* itself; behind these lines, on each

side, a range of military was formed in single file, and the people crowded the rear; across the middle of the vestibule, from the great centre gate of the church, towards that which opens in the porch to the front of the basilica, the respectable body of the Capitoline guards, in their fine uniform, were drawn up facing the archway which opened from the statue of Constantine. In the rear of the battalion, the military bands were stationed in front of the civic guards or militia, who were formed in line of two deep along the other wing of the vestibule leading towards the equestrian statue of Charlemagne, which, on the south side of the vestibule, corresponds with that of Constantine on the north.

As soon as the head of the procession entered this vestibule the bands commenced occasional gratulations. Arrived at the great middle gate of bronze, the procession, leaving the Capitoline guards on its left, turned to the right into the church. Here the regular troops were drawn up in single file, facing inwards, leaving in the centre a space of from sixty to eighty feet wide, for the procession which now began to move slowly up the centre towards the great altar under the dome. This mighty mass appeared to be of solid gold, blazing also with lights under its massive twisted columns and great canopy of Corinthian brass. The numerous lamps that burned round the balustrade of the confession, which shows the tomb of the Apostle several feet below, seemed, in the distance, like the flowing of a stream of liquid fire lambent about the base of the majestic altar.

As soon as the Holy Father turned into the vestibule, the bands gave their full salute, the bells redoubled their enlivening peal, and the voices of the capitular choir repeated, in solemn chant, the declaration of the Saviour, made eighteen centuries ago, to the predecessor of Gregory XVI. "Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam *meam*, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam—Thou *art Peter*, and upon this rock I will build My Church, *and the gates* of hell shall not prevail against it." The

Holy Father, in meek, dignified humility, imparted the blessing as he was borne along. A rich canopy was sustained by prelates over his chair, and the flabelli waved majestically on either side. Over the vestibule, from a window that opened into the church, immediately above the great door, six trumpets announceed the entrance of the Holy Father. The troops presented arms as the greater prelates who followed the cross advanced; but when the Father of the faithful approached, with their arms still presented, they bent a knee. The masters of ceremony were stationed from place to place along the line, and as the procession approached the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament on the right, about four hundred feet after it had entered the church, it was arranged line within line on either side towards the gate of this chapel. The chair was let down, the Holy Father descended and knelt in adoration for a few moments; all knelt with him. He rose, resumed his seat, the lines began to extend forward, the procession advanced towards the choir that was enclosed beyond this great altar. Your readers ought to know that the platform and steps of this altar are not, as is usual in modern churches, towards the entrance, but have the back of the altar itself towards the principal gate, as was more usual in the ancient edifices. A partition covered with crimson damask and broad gold lace, was drawn across the centre aisle about one hundred and fifty feet beyond the altar to its front, and, consequently, having the altar between it and the gate. Against this partition a large platform was raised, to which there was an ascent of six or eight steps, and upon this platform was the papal throne, opposite the steps which ascended to the corresponding platform of the altar. On the right the Prince Orsini stood by the throne itself; in front of him, considerably towards the verge, the first cardinal-bishop sat; a cardinal-deacon sat on either side of the throne, and on the upper steps at either side the assistant-bishops stood or sat; below them, on one side, was the Roman magistracy; on the other the judges and officers of the chief civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical tribu-

nals. Below, on either side, the cardinals were ranged on elevated benches, and on lower ones at their feet their train-bearers sat. Nearer to the altar the other members of the papal chapel were variously disposed, and from the lamps of the confession, on either side of the altar, back to the cardinals' benches, the guards of nobles in close single files filled up the space to prevent any intrusion. On benches behind the cardinals were archbishops and bishops not assistant, civil and military officers, the heads of religious orders, foreign ambassadors, etc.

After the Pope was seated, the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and penitentiaries of St. Peter's went successively to pay the usual homage, the first by kissing his right hand, the second by kissing his right knee, and the third by kissing his right foot. After this, the solemn intonation of the Vespers was given by the Holy Father and continued by the choir. The scene was sublime. The sensations were deep, solemn, and highly impressive.

After Vespers the pallia were brought up from the tomb of the Apostles, upon a salver covered with rich silk, and presented to the Pope to be blessed. Perhaps your readers do not know, and would wish to be informed, that a pallium is a sort of woolen collar with five purple crosses on it, which is worn on solemn occasions by patriarchs, archbishops, and a few privileged bishops, and is emblematic of their right of presidency in their districts. The wool is shorn from lambs blessed on the Festival of St. Agnes at her church outside the city; they are shorn at a particular time, and the wool is spun and woven by the nuns of a particular convent under her invocation; the collars are then laid upon the tomb in the confession of St. Peter, to signify the connection of the bearer with his apostolical authority. They are brought and blessed at first Vespers on June 28, and replaced upon the tomb until demanded for a new prelate, who, upon receiving it, renews his oath of fealty to the Holy See, has it placed on his neck, wears it on solemn occasions, and has it buried with him.

III.

Preparations had been made for illuminating the exterior of the Church of St. Peter, as soon as night should fall. No description can convey an adequate idea of the spectacle which this presents. The dome is somewhat larger than the Church of St. Mary of the Martyrs, which is the old Pantheon; and this is not only surmounting the roof, but raised considerably above it. This Pantheon is much larger than the circular church in Meeting street.[1] Imagine this as only one of three domes, of which it is, indeed, far the largest, elevated considerably above the roof of a church, the façade of which is a grand pile of architecture; this dome is half surrounded by columns, and the one by which the entablature over them is crowned, closely ribbed to its summit. Over this is a ball, in which I was one of eight persons standing erect, and we had room for at least four others, and this ball is surmounted by a cross. From the sides of the front two wings of splendid architecture project forward upwards of eighty feet; at their extremities are lofty columns, over which run the proper entablatures crowned by pediments; from these enormous colonnades recede almost semi-circularly from each wing, sweeping, with their hundreds of pillars, round the immense piazza, capable of containing probably one hundred thousand human beings upon the area within their embrace. In the centre of this is a rich Egyptian obelisk, resting upon the backs of four lions, *couchants* upon the angles of a fine pedestal. Half way from this obelisk, at each side towards the colonnade, are two magnificent fountains, probably the most superb in the world. Each appears to be a capacious marble vase elevated upon a sufficiently strong but gracefully delicate stem; the summit of this vase is at the elevation of about twelve feet. From its centre rises, to nearly the same height, another still more slender and delicately shaped

[1] *A peculiar church building* in Charleston, S. C.

stem, from whose summit is projected, to a considerable height, a water-spout which, gracefully bending near its summit and yielding to the direction of the wind, as it forms its curve and descent, is separated into a sort of sparkling spray of pearls and silver intermixed. About twelve other spouts shoot round this central liquid column, diverging from it on every side as they rise, and falling, with a similar appearance, at somewhat of a less elevation. They seem, in the distance, to be like rich plumes of some gigantic ostrich waving gracefully in the breeze, whilst the descending shower is received in the capacious vase, from whose interior it is conducted to various fountains in the city. Hundreds of statues lift their various forms, appearing larger than life, over the frieze and cornice of the colonnade; whilst at the foot of the majestic flight of steps by which you ascend to the portico of the church, two ancient statues of St. Peter and St. Paul have for centuries rested upon their pedestals. The façade of the church itself is surmounted by the colossal statues of the twelve Apostles.

The illumination consisted of two parts. The lamps for the first part were disposed closely, in colored paper, along the architectural lines of this mighty mass, about the ribs of the domes, around the ball, and on the cross.

To me, as I looked from the bridge of St. Angelo, the scene appeared like a vision of enchantment. It seemed as if a mighty pile of some rich, black, soft material was reared in the likeness of a stupendous temple, and the decorations were broad lines of burning liquid gold. The ball and the cross were seen as if detached and resting in the air above its summit. It was indeed a becoming emblem of the triumph of a crucified Redeemer over this terrestrial ball. After I had passed the bridge and as I approached the piazza, the front of the church and the expanse of the colonnade exhibited their lines of light. The specks which formed those lines glowed now more distinct and separate, and though their continuity was lost, their symmetry was perfect and magnificent. The immense piazza was thronged

with carriages and persons on foot, whilst a division of the Papal dragoons, one of the finest and best disciplined bodies of cavalry in existence, moved in sections and single files through the multitude, calmly, but steadily and firmly, preserving order. Scarcely a word is heard above a whisper; an accident is of so rare an occurrence as not to be calculated upon. The Cardinal Secretary of State has a gallery in front of the church, to which foreign ambassadors and a few other strangers of distinction are invited. I observed Captain Read and his wife in this gallery, and many of our officers were promenading below.

About an hour elapsed from the commencement, when the motion of a brighter light was observed towards the summit of the cupola, a large star seemed to shoot upwards to the cross, and, as if by a sudden flash from heaven, the whole edifice appeared to blaze in the glare of day. A thousand lights, kindled by some inconceivably rapid communication, shed their beams upon every part of the building. Pillars and pilasters, with their vases, shafts, and capitals; mouldings, friezes, cornices, pediments, architraves, pannels, doors, windows, niches, images, decorations, enrichments, domes—all, with their faint lines of golden light, now softened to a milder lustre, were revealed in brilliant relief to the enraptured eye. The fountains were magnificently grand, and richly pure, and softened into a refreshing white. The multitude was silent. The horses were still. The glowing cross, elevated above the Vatican hill, beamed to the wide plains and distant mountains its augury of future glory because of past humiliation. The crowd began to move, a low buzz of conversation began, and then the horses' tramp, followed by the rattling of wheels. And whilst tens of thousands remained yet longer, other thousands moved in various directions to their homes, or to distant elevated points for the sake of a variety of views.

I went to the magnificent Piazza del Popolo. It was literally a desert; but in its stillness, and the dereliction of its obelisk, its fountains, and its statues, by the very

contrast to the scene that I had left, there arose a feeling of new sublimity. It was more deep—it was more solemn, but it was less elevated; not so overpowering, nor so impressive as to that which it succeeded. My object was to ascend from this place to the Monte Pincio; the commanding view from which would enable me to look over the city at the great object which attracted every eye. But the gates of the avenue at this side were closed, and I had to go to the Piazza di Spagna, and there to ascend by the immense and beautiful flight of steps to the Trinità dei Monti. Standing here in front of the Convent of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, the view of St. Peter's was indeed superb. I proceeded up towards the public gardens lately formed on the summit of this ancient residence of so many of the remarkable men of five-and-twenty ages. At various intervals I stopped and turned to view the altered appearance presented by the mass of light as seen from those different positions. As I contemplated it I reflected that it must soon be extinguished like the transient glories of the philosophers, the heroes, the statesmen, the orators who successively passed over the spot on which I stood. A humble fisherman from Galilee, and an obscure tent-maker from Tarsus, were confined in the dungeons of this city. Seventeen hundred and sixty-eight years had passed away since one of them was crucified with his head downwards, on the Vatican Hill, and the other was beheaded near the Ostian Way. They had been zealously faithful in discharging the duties of their apostleship. In the eyes of men their death was without honor, but it was precious in the sight of God. Grateful and admiring millions from year to year proclaim their praises, whilst the Church exhibits their virtues as proofs of the power of the Saviour's grace, as models for the imitation of her sons. Oh! let my soul die the death of the just, and let my last end be like to theirs! Translated from this earth—they live *in heaven*. Tried for a time and found faithful, they enjoy *a glorious* recompense. The God that we serve is merciful

a bestowing His grace, and is exceedingly bountiful in rowning His own gifts, by giving to us through the merits f His Son a recompense for those acts of virtue which Ie enables us to perform.

I found myself again near the summit of the steps— descended and retired to my home reflecting upon the ;onders wrought by the Most High through the instru- ıentality of those two great saints, the celebration of whose estival had thus commenced. The ardent Peter and the ctive Paul! The name changed to signify the office to ;hich he should be raised. The Vicegerent of heaven's Cing—bearing the mystic keys with powers of legislation and f administration,—Whatever thou shall bind on earth shall e bound in heaven, whatsoever thou shall loose on earth hall be loosed also in heaven. Yes!—upon this rock was he Church of the Saviour built. Its principal weight of dministration rested upon him, who of himself was weak, ut who, converted and sustained by Christ, was strong. Before the cock shall crow twice this night, thou shall hrice deny Me. Yes! Satan hath desired to have thee that e might sift thee as wheat; but I have prayed for thee ıat thy faith fail not. And thou once converted, confirm hy brethren!" The strongest power that hell can muster ı its gates, to make a furious assault upon that Church, he weighty administration of which shall rest upon you, nd upon those that shall succeed you, shall from time to ime be marshaled and sent forth for the destruction of hat body which the Saviour organized like a well-ordered ingdom upon earth for the attainment of heaven; but the ates of hell shall not prevail against it! The dynasties f nations have perished—the palaces of the Cæsars are in uins—their tombs have mouldered with the bodies they ontained, but the successors of Peter continue. Under the rders of Nero, the two Apostles were consigned to what ;as imagined to be destruction. The vaults of the tyrant's olden *palace are covered* with vegetation. Standing on the *ıseemly ruins of the* remnant of this monster's monument,

by the side of the Flaminian way, through the obscurity of the night, the Christian peasant looks towards that blaze of light, which, from the resting-place where the relics of the head of the Church and of the doctor of the Gentiles are found, breaks forth and irradiates the eternal city and its monumental environs.

If Peter is elevated in station, Paul is not less glorious in merit. He, too, looked back with sorrow on that day when he held the clothes of those who slew Stephen. But how nobly did he redeem his error. A vessel of election to bear the good odor of Christ into the palaces of kings —a torrent of eloquence flowing into the barren fields of a vain philosophy to fertilize and adorn—a rich exhibition of virtue, winning by its beauty, attracting by its symmetry, and exciting to activity by emulation—a glowing meteor of benediction, dissipating the clouds of error, shedding the lustre of truth around, and warming the hearts of the beholders to charity on earth, that they might be fitted for glory in heaven.

IV.

On June 30 a chapel of the bishops assistant at the throne was held at the Church of St. Paul, on the Ostian road. This is the great basilica which was consumed by fire about eleven years ago. In this conflagration the grand altar and the place where the relics of the Apostles repose escaped. Hundreds of workmen continue to be employed in the restoration of this fine church, and considerable progress has been made. The transept is covered in, the columns of the aisles are erected, and most of them have their capitals mounted. The shafts are a beautiful iron gray granite, each shaft one piece of upwards of twenty feet in height, and the cap a fine white marble, Corinthian or composite, each in two blocks; very few are Ionic. The *aisles of* this church are new as far as the transept. The *floor is to* be raised three feet above its old level, as on

some former occasions the Tiber rose to such a height as to overflow it. Probably twenty years more, at least, must pass away before this church can be used, though probably five hundred men are continually employed upon it. The offices are at present performed in three chapels—the old sacristies, each of which would make a moderate sized American church.

On this day also two of the cardinal-bishops consecrated each two of the newly-appointed bishops just nominated. But on the subsequent Sunday I was present at a ceremony which to me was quite new—the consecration of a Catholic Bishop according to the Greek rite. It took place in the Greek Church, on the Via del Babuino, and was rather thinly attended, as it was not generally known. I do not believe that there were five hnndred persons in the church. The prelate consecrated was Gabriel Smicsitilaszbi Crisio; the consecrating prelate was the Most Reverend Basil Tomaggiani, a native of Pera, Constantinople, born in the year 1762, a minor conventual friar and Archbishop of Durazzo—who for a number of years has resided in this city for the purpose of performing the episcopal functions of the Greek rite. He was assisted by two Latin doctors, Lewis Cardelli, a minor reformed friar, Archbishop of Acrida *in partibus*, and Lewis Grati, a Servite (formerly Archbishop of Smyrna, which he resigned) friar, Bishop of Gallimicio *in partibus*. The deacon was the same that sung the Gospel in Greek, at St. Peter's, at the Papal High Mass on the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul, and the sub-deacon was from the Propaganda. Several other students from this college also attended to sing the other parts of the service according to their rite. An American bishop and an American priest in plain official dress, not vestments, and a few other clergymen of various orders were permitted to go within the partition which separates the Greek altars from the congregation. Small as the number present was, the persons composing it were collected from many nations, and though all of one faith, yet followed several rites.

The ceremony as regards vesture, instruments, and form, was far more simple than the Latin rite. The consecrating prelate only laid one hand on the head of the person consecrated, the assisting prelate holding the book of the Gospels on his shoulders during the imposition. The crosier is altogether of a different form from that used by the Latins. It is shorter, more slender, and in place of a crook has a double curve, as if two serpents had their tails inserted in the top of the shaft and their bodies stretched horizontally in opposite directions for about six inches each, after which they turn upwards bending their heads towards each other so as to approach within about a couple of inches. This is given to the person to be consecrated, when he is made a doctor, immediately after his profession of faith and oath of fealty previous to the Mass. No unction of either the head or hand is used, nor is any mitre placed on his head. He, on the proper occasion after his consecration, takes the Greek mitre, which is very different in its shape from that of the Latins, being in fact a crown. Upon the whole the ceremony was very interesting, though by no means so solemn or imposing as that of the Latins. On the same day (July 6) Cardinal Odescalchi, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church and Bishop of Sabina, went in state to the Church of St. Andrew on the Quirinal hill, the novitiate of the Jesuits, and consecrated Francis Strani, Bishop of the diocese of Massa di Carrara; the assistants were the Most Reverend John Soglia, Archbishop of Ephesus, and the Most Reverend Constantine Patozzi, Archbishop of Philippi and major-domo to His Holiness.

All the Italian bishops are consecrated in this city by cardinals, though the pontifical directs that as far as possible the bishop should be consecrated in the midst of his own people in the church to which he is promoted. The custom here originated in the practice, very properly established, *of having* the bishops elect of these countries examined in *theology* and canon law and certified as perfect in their

knowledge of both, by a very respectable congregation of cardinals, prelates, theologians and jurists, previous to their being approved and nominated by His Holiness in the consistory. I recollect that one of the most learned of this body of examiners, the present Bishop of Orvietto, having been appointed by the Pope, from his personal knowledge of his learning and merit, could not obtain the necessary certificate from his brother examiners, without undergoing a very rigorous and searching trial. When thus in the holy city, and examined, approved and named, they generally preferred being consecrated by a cardinal-bishop, and the custom is now grown into a law. I must acknowledge that I prefer the discipline laid down in the pontifical.

As your readers might wish to see a list of this congregation, and thus have an idea of the constitution of those committees of business, I shall give you a list of the present congregation for the examination of bishops elect.

Examiners in Theology.

CARDINALS: 1. Pacca. 2. Zurla. 3. Micara. 4. Lambruschini. 5. Marco-y-Catalan.

FATHERS: 6. Master Dominic Buttaoni, a Dominican friar, Master of the Sacred Palace. 7. Master Thomas Antonino Degola, of the same order, Secretary of the Index. 8. John da Capistrano, ex-General Minister of the Reformed Minor Observantine Friars. 9. Lewis Togni, Prefect-General of the Fathers Infirmarians for the Charitable Care of the Sick. 10. Laurence da Camerata, of the Order of Friars Capuchins, Apostolic Preacher for the Papal Household. 11. The Abbate Paul del Signore, a Canon Regular of St. Saviour's of Lateran. 12. John Roothan, General of the Society of Jesus. 13. The Abbate Don Ambrose Bianchi, Vicar-General of the Benedictine Congregation of Camaldoli. 14. Cherubino da Arienzo, of the Order of Friars Minors, *Observantines.* *15.* **Master Laurence Tardi, Vicar-General**

of the Order of Hermits of St. Augustine. 16. Don Emilio Jacopini, of the Order of Regular Minor Clerks.

Examiners in Canon Law.

CARDINALS: 1. Galleffi. 2. De Gregorio. 3. Falzacappa. 4. Odescalchi. 5. Fransoni. 6. Sala.

MOST REVEREND: 7. Joseph della Porta Ronciglione, Patriarch of Constantinople. 8. Francis Canali, lately created cardinal, Archbishop of Larissa. 9. John Soglia, Archbishop of Ephesus.

THE PRELATES: Rev. Jerome Bontadosi, auditor (or assessor) of His Holiness. Silvester Bargagnati, one of the clerks of the chamber (Court of Appeals). Rev. Joseph Mezzofanti, First Keeper of the Vatican Library, of whom Lord Byron had so high an opinion; probably one of the first linguists in existence; he speaks with facility thirty-four living languages, and several of the dead tongues.

SECRETARY: The Most Rev. Joseph Vespigniani, Archbishop of Tyana.

When I contemplated one of those congregations, and after taking each individual separately and considering his erudition and respectability upon a variety of other grounds, and then viewed the aggregate of their merits; how did I pity the little beings who, without knowing one particle of the mode in which business is done here or concerning the character or qualifications of the councilors of the Holy Father, write and speak of mankind, ignorance, the dark ages, the mariner's compass, the art of printing, the feudal times—Martin Luther, Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn, &c.

By the bye, as we have touched this chord—I amused some of our Americans, whilst they were in this city about three weeks since, by taking them to Monsignor Mezzofanti, with whom I have the happiness of an intimate acquaintance, and procuring from him one of the pieces in his archives, *an antograph* love letter of the gallant monarch to Miss *Anne.* It is written in French, and not easily legible as

he first inspection; in the flourish to his signature is a heart n the midst of which, upon examination, you find the initials of the lady's name, A. This letter is pasted on the leaf of a book which contains a copy of the piece in a more modern and legible hand, by the aid of which the original is easily deciphered. Some ladies who joined the American party examined it with considerable minuteness. His majesty did not seem to be in the beheading humor when it was written. The learned keeper produced another piece of whose authenicity there could be no question: the copy of Henry's work n defence of the Catholic doctrine, of the seven sacraments, gainst Martin Luther, which work procured for his majesty o many polite compliments from the sainted reformers and or him and his successors from the Holy See the title of "Defender of the Faith"—which title those successors have vith such admirably good taste preserved, whilst they robbed, whipped, banished, hanged, quartered, embowelled, and beheaded their beloved subjects for believing as his majesty hen wrote! The dedication of this work to His Holiness vas subscribed by his majesty with his own royal hand, nd the work has been preserved ever since with care n the archives of the holy city. Monsignor Mezzofanti equested of the ladies to compare the signatures, which were palpably the work of the same hand. He was requested by them very naturally to give the history of the way in which the lady's letter came into the Vatican, which he did o our satisfaction; but as I am so stupid, the chain of uccession has got entangled in my memory, and I shall not ust now venture to guess. Probably, if nothing more mportant banishes the determination, I shall ask my friend or the history, when next we meet, and shall try to recollect t for you then.

V.

This is the period when the examinations are made in ll the *schools and colleges* in the city. I do not know *xactly the number of* students. but I am perhaps consid-

erably under the mark in saying they are something over two thousand. On Thursday, July 17, I attended at the defence of his theses, by an American student at the Urban College, generally known as that of the Propaganda. The number of young men in this institution is over one hundred.

The process is generally as follows: During the private examinations at the several periods of the year, by the professors of the college itself, and also at that towards the end of the academical season, by others as well as by the professors of the house, one or more of the best pupils are selected to defend the theses. A thesis, as your readers are aware, is a position or stated proposition. Several of these are selected from the scientific course, which the student publishes and declares that he will be ready, at a fixed time and place, to defend against all opponents. The lists are regularly prepared for this scholastic knight, who appears duly sustained to exhibit his powers; nor is this tournament a mere idle display, in the rivalry of the schools; there are often formidable encounters and numerous spectators, and not unfrequently serious disasters. There is a formidable Jesuit here, a professor of dogmatic theology at the Roman College, who has lately swept, in a comparatively short encounter, half a dozen of those youthful aspirants from the field of fame; and their teachers were neither insensible nor inactive on and after the encounter. The effects of this carnage are not yet at an end; gauntlet after gauntlet is flung down, and the judges of such feats are in continual requisition

On the present occasion, Martin John Spalding,[1] a Kentuckian and the senior student of the United States of North America, a pupil of the Urban College, published a respectful and manly Latin address to the congregation of cardinals presiding over the affairs of the Propaganda, in which, after wishing their eminences happiness and health,

[1] Since Archbishop of Baltimore, and now dead.

he informs them of what he considers the blessings diffused by their institution, for which they deserve thanks. As he has finished the usual course of studies, he has determined to express publicly his gratitude by sustaining his theses, expressing the doctrines which he shall endeavor to teach in those distant regions to which he is about to return. For this purpose he will appear, God willing, in the morning, in the great hall of the college, when and where it shall be lawful for any one who thinks proper to controvert what he undertakes to defend. In the afternoon he will appear in the college chapel, where three select champions will successively make their assaults, after which he will be ready to meet any other that might be disposed to try his strength.

Then follows a list of two hundred and fifty-six propositions which he undertakes to defend. They are drawn from the several treatises of theology and canon law; copies of this were sent to the other colleges, and special invitations were given to several individuals whose attendance was particularly desirable.

About half past eight o'clock on Thursday morning I arrived at the gate of the college, on the pavement in front of which was a profuse scattering of sweet-smelling green leaves; the bay and myrtle predominated. The gate itself was open, and this fragrant path marked the way to the interior. The strewing continued up the great staircase, along the open gallery of the first floor, to the great door leading to the principal corridor, along this passage to the gate of the principal hall. This room, about eighty feet in length by forty wide and twenty in height, has its walls decorated with paintings of students of this college, under the inflictions of the deadly pain by which they were in remote regions martyred for their discharge of duty; thus exhibiting to the youth who are therein educated the constancy which the Church expects from them under similar circumstances. At the further extremity, opposite the door, was a carpeted platform elevated two steps. Upon

this the young Kentuckian was seated, with a small table before him, having also next to him on one side his professor of theology, a Roman, and on the other his professor of law, a Bavarian count, who is a priest and rector of the college. The renowned scholar, Angelo Mai, presided, being seated on your right, as you entered the hall near this platform. A range of chairs extended on either side, leaving a passage of about ten feet wide in the centre, from the door to the platform. These chairs were intended for cardinals, bishops, or other prelates and professors who might arrive. Ranges of benches parallel to these, on each side, behind, were pretty generally thronged by students of that and of other colleges and by many strangers. No cardinal was present in the forenoon; the Bishop of Charleston was the only prelate of the episcopal order. But several others of various grades, secular and regular, amongst whom were the rectors and professors of various colleges, occupied most of the chairs.

The first argument had been concluded when I arrived; it was conducted by an Italian secular priest, whose name I could not learn. The second was made by a Dominican friar, a man of very great talent and ingenuity; he had also nearly concluded. An infirmarian, or crutched friar, conducted the third with considerable spirit and ability. By the bye, you should in America say, that what I call a crutched friar, is in Italy called a *crucifero*, or "cross-bearer." He wears a red cross on the right breast of a black habit, and his obligation is to spend his time in attending the sick, especially in infirmaries. Hence I call him an infirmarian. This invaluable order of devoted men was founded by St. Camillo of Lellis. Next succeeded an Irishman, a student of the Roman Seminary, who did argue most lustily against the real presence and sacrifice of the Mass. The next was a German Jesuit, well known in the United States, Father Kohlman, who for nearly half an hour argued eloquently *against* the primacy of the Holy See. He was followed *by* Signor Rosa, one of the minutanti, and a professor of theology, who argued against the power of remitting all sin

n the Sacrament of Penance. Dr. Wiseman,[1] Rector of the English College, next argued for the figurative meaning of he words of our Saviour, in the institution of the Eucharist, introducing various analagous passages from Persian, Arabic, nd other Asiatic writers, some of which are pompously rought forward in the preface to ponderous tomes of olyglots, by an Oxford doctor of modern celebrity. The elebrated Monsignor Mezzofanti then followed with conderable subtlety and acuteness, when the great bell nnounced midday.

The young American had now been upwards of four hours harply engaged in scholastic disputation, in the Latin lanuage, with men of various nations and of no ordinary alibre, and had not failed or hesitated in a single answer.

To a stranger the style of this mode of disputation is ltogether a novelty. You are carried back by the introuction of the argument to all the pompous style of ancient eraldry and regulated courtesy of disputation. The disutant generally commences by a high wrought compliment o the institution, to its various officers, to the particular rofessor of the science in which he is to make his assault, o the genius and erudition of the defender; then speaks of is own defects, how reluctant he is to couch a lance against o powerful an opponent, but if he makes a pass or two, is not in the vain hope of a victory for which there is o chance, but that taught by the prowess he will elicit, he ay improve. He then commences his attack and presses n, generally with great vigor. The defender in turn proesses the high estimation in which he holds his opponent; ntroducing in his description an enumeration of the offices e has held, the honors he has obtained, and the great ualities for which he is remarkable. Then he briefly ecapitulates the argument, dissects it, and takes its separate arts for successive examination, and after having thus isposed of it, he says that he is inclined to think it not o *strong as at first supposed.*

[1] *Since Cardinal, and now dead.*

There was a recess for rest, dinner, and preparation for the afternoon. But on this occasion the assembly was more solemn. The disposition of the church was similar to that of the hall. The ecclesiastical dresses, however, were for cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, what were called robes of the second class; the cardinals in red, the bishops in purple, and such of the other prelates as were entitled to it in the same color. The cardinals, of whom only seven were present, sat on very rich chairs on the right side of the chapel facing the door; those chairs were elevated one step above the level of the floor. Three chosen disputants occupied the first places on the opposite side, then the bishops, &c. The Swiss guards formed at the door and lined the passage. The exercises began with an exceedingly ingenious argument against the Primacy of St. Peter, made with great tact and skill by the prelate Raffaelle Fornari, Canonist of the Penitentiary, former Professor of Theology in the Propaganda, and a man of the very first ability. This lasted nearly three quarters of an hour. The second was on the subject of Greece, by Father Perrone, a Jesuit, Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Roman College; he is a man of the most profound research and great logical powers, with an admirable memory. The engagement lasted half an hour. Nearly as long again was occupied in an argument against the divine character of Christianity, by Father Modena, Assistant to the Master of the Sacred Palace and a Dominican friar. The cardinals rose and shook hands with the Kentuckian, who was carried away by his fellow-students in triumph.

Thus ended the public disputation at about eight o'clock. This is a specimen of Roman schools and monkish ignorance.

VI.

The charge of monkish ignorance, with all its unmeaning *concomitants*, comes against this city with a very bad grace *from* places where as yet comparatively little has been done *to promote* or to sustain a literary spirit. It is true Rom

ıer days of light, flimsy gossamer-like semblance of
:. She had also her day of melancholy oppression.
ıas had the peace of her children destroyed by the
l of faction; she has had to weep over the fury of
ons, and to mingle her tears with the torrents of their
not shed in the defence of public rights, but for the
ses of ambition. Religion often restrained and soothed
esperado; but religion herself was sometimes trodden
and bruised and wounded in the unholy affrays pro-
by the lust of power. In those days the din of
ion distracted even the monk in his cloister; and
; the pages or rolling up the parchment, he wept and
l before the altar; or if he came out, it was to make
fort for peace, it was to cast himself between the
rated victor and his prostrate victim; to lift the
matic crucifix by which the God of mercy and the
of men admonished the one, and to fling the protecting
: of religion over the other. The day of tumult, the
of faction, the intrigues of ambition, the contests of
ce, are not favorable to the pursuits of literature. And
s holy city, as in all other places, human passions are
in human beings. Rome has had her vicissitudes.
nay she look around in calm dignity, and with the
f ages unfolded and the surface of the globe exhib-
o the beholders, firmly ask where is her rival. The
r of literary and scientific societies at present not
in existence but in operation here, exceeds that of
ther city that I know, or perhaps that is known.
d of a general description, I shall give you a few
; and those probably not one-fourth of what might
llected within the same period, as I was occupied in
a way as to leave me little leisure.

Academy of the Catholic Religion held one of its
meetings on the evening of Thursday, April 24.
resident of this academy is the Most Rev. Dr. John
, Archbishop of Ephesus; the secretary ad interim is
ev. Father John Baptist Rosani, Procurator-General

of the Regular Clerks for Pious Schools. The academy consists of a large number of highly talented and erudite clergymen and laymen, and they have a very respectable body of honorary members in various parts of the world. The object is to make those literary researches which are demanded by the peculiar circumstances of the times, for the illustration and support of the Catholic religion. They meet in a large hall at the Roman University, generally called the Sapienza. On this evening Father Olivieri, General of the Dominican friars, read an extremely interesting and erudite essay, to prove that, without a knowledge of Sacred Scriptures, it was utterly impossible to have any accurate notions of either the antiquities or the history of Egypt. The substance of the composition is given in the following outline: Some well-deserved compliments to the exertions of the learned academician, Monsignor Testa, for his famous dissertation, by which was demonstrated the correct epoch of the zodiac of Denderah, that by some exquisites is thrown back to ages before the flood, and by others to ages before the creation; he then remarked upon the value of those Egyptian monuments, which, whatever might be the object of those that sought and produced them, gave, by their own authentic symbols and explanations, results always favorable to the cause of religion. Upon this principle he considered Egypt as connected with the great facts of sacred history; he enumerated the several kinds of antiquities remaining to us. A vast collection is found in the galleries of the Vatican, and some in other parts of the city. He showed the aids furnished by profane erudition, especially from the catalogues of monarchs of the Egyptian dynasties; he proved that, without the help of the sacred volumes, it is impossible to make any reasonable distribution of those numbers. According to the chronology which approximates nearest to the Hebrew copies considered as most to be relied upon and *to the* Latin Vulgate, it is impossible to go beyond Cham, *the son* of Noe. The journeys of Abraham and his sojourn

in Egypt exhibit, as does all the history of that period, the infancy of political institutions in that country, the monuments of which cannot precede the time of Joseph, the great-grandson of Abraham, under whose administration the power and grandeur of the Egyptian monarchs had their origin. Finally, the learned academician demonstrated, with evidence, that the arts and sciences had no earlier origin than the days of his administration in that country, which was one of the most precocious of Africa, and equal, perhaps, to any in Asia. He showed that, previous to the deluge, considerable progress had been made in many of the arts which flourished in ancient Egypt; and that a mighty process of time would not be required for the attainment of such a grade of knowledge, seeing that God had created man in a state of adult vigor, endowed with language for the communication of ideas, and with information necessary not only for the preservation of life, but for the father of future generations. The meeting was well attended; amongst those present were Cardinals Pedicini, Zurla, and Lambruschini, ordinary canons of the academy; several archbishops, bishops, distinguished prelates, nobles, and literary men of various ranks.

The Archæological Academy is a very highly respectable society, which holds its meetings in the great hall of the Roman Archiginnasio. Its object is the illustration of ancient monuments, and especially the correction of any popular errors respecting those generally best known. Protector, Cardinal Galleffi; President, the Marquis Commander Louis Biondi; Secretary, the Cavaliere Peter Hercules Visconti. In such a city as Rome, a society of this description is most useful. The number of ancient Pagan monuments that line the wall on your right, as you enter by the long passage to the galleries and chambers of statues in the Vatican—the corresponding monuments of early Christianity on your left—the succession of Egyptian monuments in the various chambers by which you pass to that which contains the *fine painting of George* IV of England, by Sir Thomas

Lawrence, and the casts of the Grecian marble, not to speak of the vast quantities daily produced from the excavations, would well employ many learned antiquarians.

A stated meeting was held on the 12th of June, under the presidency of the Marquis Biondi. The Academician Cavaliere T. Monaldi pronounced the eulogy of Domenico Sestina, a noble Florentine, deeply learned in the knowledge of medals, and a corresponding member of the academy. The secretary then produced an ancient Italian vase, considerably adorned with figures, and which was found in the month of last December in the excavations near Bolsena, and which now belongs to the collection of Signor Campanari, in this city. The learned secretary showed that it contained amongst others representations of the last libation made by Hector on parting from Priam and Hecuba previous to encountering Achilles. He thence took occasion to discuss the origin of the Italian arts, and of the poets who inspired the artists, vindicating in arts for Italy a priority over Greece. There were present on the occasion Cardinals Zurla, Sala, Castracane, Gazzoli, Mattei, and Grimaldi, all honorary members. His eminence Cardinal James Monico, Patriarch of Venice, was admitted to honorary membership.

Another meeting of this Society was held on the evening of the 26th of June, on which occasion the secretary continued the reading of a dissertation of which he had given a portion at a previous meeting. It was by the corresponding member and associate, Cavaliere Prockesch d'Osten, on the antiquities of the Island of Naxos. Then an illustration was given of a military diploma of the Emperor Adrian, now first brought to view. It was written by the corresponding member and associate, Signor Clement Cardinali. At this meeting there were present Cardinals Zurla, Sala, and Grimaldi, honorary members, besides many others of high respectability.

On the 19th of June there was another meeting of the Academy of the Catholic Religion, on which occasion the

Rev. Secretary read a very fine essay of the academician, Cavaliere Angelo Maria Ricci, a Knight of Malta and an excellent poet, "On the influence which the Catholic religion has always had on the progress of literature and the fine arts." The best judges of style gave high praises to this composition, for its perspicuity, elegance, varying harmony with the varying tone of the subject, and a simple sweetness of delicate, natural expression. Since Charles Villers obtained the prize from the National Institute of France in 1802 for his essay to show that the religious changes made by Luther improved literature and the arts, it has to a certain extent been fashionable to copy, to imitate, or to emulate his effort. The academician reviewed the allegations of a whole host of those gentry, showing upon how flimsy a foundation they rested, going from age to age of previous centuries to exhibit that before the bold professor of Wittenberg ventured upon the defence of the first thesis, the arts and sciences had attained and lost, and again attained, again lost many of those accidental improvements which were with so little reason attributed to his innovations. The principles and powers of sound criticism were here well applied.

It was demonstrated in the fullness of evidence, that in the dark days of a desolating barbarism, which anti-Christian hordes spread over the civilized countries of Europe, the fine arts, science, and literature owed their asylum to Popes, bishops, and monks, who preserved, cultivated, cherished, and restored them until, by their indefatigable and protracted exertions, those ferocious conquerors were softened into humanity, subjected to religion, and brought to the porch of civilization; that as society, thus reformed, was advancing towards perfection, these ennobling appendages were also receiving their development. The essayist then proceeded by analysis, by comparison, and by examples to show how much the spirit of the Catholic religion and the purity of its morality contributed to render more sublime and perfect *the conceptions of* the poet, of the philosopher, and of *the artist.*

The meeting was attended by cardinals Castracane and Grimaldi, by the Archbishop of Acrida, and by many distinguished prelates, nobles, clergy, and other literary characters.

The object of the Academy of St. Luke is the encouragement, improvement and cultivation of the fine arts. Its officers are: President, Cavaliere Gaspare Salvi; Vice-President, Professor Thomas Minardi; Ex-President, Cavaliere Antonio D'Estre; Secretary of the Council, Professor Louis Poletti; Steward, Clement Caval Folchi; Perpetual Secretary of the Academy, Professor Salvatore Batti.

In the schools, there are the following professorships: Painting, two, Pozzi and Minardi; Sculpture, two, Thorwaldsen and Tenerani; Theory of Architecture, Gaspare Salvi; Practical Architecture, Valadier; Elementary and Ornamental Architecture, Julius Camporesa; Geometry, Perspective, and Optics, Peter Delicati; Anatomy, Cajetan Albites; History, Mythology, and Dress, Salvatore Batti. Besides the above who are in actual employment, there are belonging to the Society resident professors of merit, that is, men whose professional merits, duly ascertained, have entitled them to be enrolled; of them there are of the several classes, the following number: Class of Painting—Councillors, 8; Academicians of merit, 4; Landscapes, 4; Engravers of copper-plate, 2. Every name here is that of a man high in fame. Class of Sculpture—Councillors, 8; Academicians of merit, 4; Engravers in steel and hard stone, 3. Class of Architecture—Councillors, 8; Academicians of merit, 4. This is a first rate institution. The schools, all of which are supported by the Pope, and the lectures in which are gratuitous, are held in the Roman University or Archiginnasio.

At a meeting of this academy on the 6th of this month, the president in the chair, he spoke upon several topics, but particularly of a receipt, dated June 28, by which he assigns a rich uniform dress, to be worn on state occasions *by the* professors of merit of this institute. It reckons *amongst* its honorary members several of the most distin-

guished men of various nations, eminent patrons of the fine arts or cultivators of science connected therewith.

On the 30th of June, by a joint regulation of both the Archæological Academy and that of St. Luke, they held their yearly joint assembly; on this occasion the great hall was decorated with peculiar splendor. His eminence, Cardinal Dom Placido Zurla, Vicar-General of Rome, Prefect of the Council of Studies, a Benedictine monk of the congregation of Camaldoli, and probably one of the most polished scholars and most eloquent men in Europe, was the orator. His theme was the influence of religion on the fine arts. He dwelt principally on the sublime group of Canova in the Chapel of the Pietà at St. Peter's, as well as on the other splendid productions by means of which genius consigned the fame of the artist to the care of immortality. Canova was president of both the societies. The close logical reasoning, the glowing and distinct illustrations, and the expanded philosophical reflections which flowed in such strong and harmonious language from this eminent, good, and extraordinarily active man, now in the sixty-sixth year of his age, delighted his auditory and drew forth repeated bursts of applause. Amongst those present were noticed the Cardinal Camerlengo Galleffi, protector of both societies, Cardinals Macchi, Lambruschini, Sala, Castracane, Monico, Polidori, Rivarola, Gazzoli, Mattei, and Grimaldi. The treasurer, Tosti, better known as the president of the fine establishment of San Michele, and a very large body of prelates, nobility, and literary men, and patrons of the arts, most of whom, as are all above named, were honorary members of one or both academies. It was thought by some that the Pope would attend to compliment the orator, who is his confessor, and formerly was his superior, as they are monks of the same order, but His Holiness was not present.

VII.

On the afternoon of the 6th of July the Tiberine Academy held a stated meeting at its hall in the Palazzo Muti, at Aracœli, near the capitol; President, Charles Marquis

Antichi; secretary, the lawyer John Baptist de Dominis. The object is the cultivation of polite literature; occasionally, or rather as incidentally connected with the principal object, antiquities. I believe this academy has public meetings every week for a considerable portion of the year. Their president is elected annually. This meeting was one of what is called "di libero argomento," which gives greater scope to the academicians to introduce any species of composition.

On the evening of the 6th the president began by reading a production of his own, exceedingly well written, pointing out the principles and regulations by whose means the theatre might, without difficulty, be made truly profitable, as an institution for public instruction as well as a public amusement. He was followed by the vice-president of this year, the Rev. Father, Master John Baptist Rosani, procurator-general of the pious schools and professor of eloquence in the Nazarene College. This learned and respectable clergyman read what was called a very fine piece of heroic poetry composed by him for the occasion, but I could not well understand the subject. The learned and polished scholar, Cavaliere Angelo Maria Ricci, followed with a short composition called "il Capitolo," which is a poetic vision in the style of Dante, the lyric ode. The secretary introduced the architect, Gaspare Servi, who read a composition styled "i Decasillabi," or lyric poetry of ten syllables in each line. This gentleman is one of the council of the year for the Tiberine Academy. Epigrams were produced in Italian and Latin by Cavaliere Michael Angelo Barberi and the Abbate Don Antonio Somai, the treasurer. Sonnets and other light productions by the following academicians were interspersed, viz., Count Thomas Gnoli, dean of the consistorial advocates, Rev. Raimondo Pigliacelli, professor of theology in the Urban College of the Propaganda, Messrs. Philip Zampi, of the council, and Hannibal Lepsi, perpetual *archivist* of the academy.

The Linchi, or Lynxes, is considered one of the most

scientific academies of the city. The proper title is Nuovi Linchi, or New Lynxes. The old society to which it succeeds had done an immensity for science, but had ceased to exist. The principal object is to look out with the watchfulness designated by the name for the discoveries and improvements of natural philosophy in every place, and to turn them to advantage. The Cavaliere Don Feliciano Scarpellini, a respectable priest, is the director and perpetual secretary. Their meeting place is in the capitol, in which is an observatory under the care of this learned director; there is another at the Roman College under the care of the Jesuits.

On the evening of the 13th a meeting of this academy was held, at which nine cardinals were present, besides a great number of prelates of various grades and several of the nobility, clergy, and literati. The session was opened with an oration delivered by Cardinal Odescalchi, Bishop of Sabina, Vice-Chancellor of the Holy See, archpriest of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, and prefect of the congregation of affairs of bishops and regulars. In it his eminence, in fine language, exhibited and described the motives which animated and urged Prince Frederick Cesi, the founder of this excellent academy.

This cardinal was followed by the Cavaliere Scarpellini, a man dear to science and to literature, precious to this academy, to which he concentrates honorable and heavy labors. He gave a summary of the academical acts of the past year, in which he exhibited the exertions and progress of the distinguished members and their merited rewards. He dwelt with peculiar emphasis and satisfaction on an exceedingly useful discovery in optics, by the illustrious Signor Alberto Gatti, the extraordinary perfection given to reflecting mirrors in *pietra dura*, and which is a matter of the very first importance in the construction of telescopes. In doing so he not only bestowed the due meed of praise on the inventor, but paid a just compliment to the papal government, which animated, aided, and urged him forward

in his exertions, as also to the academy that saw the utility of the discovery and exerted itself to procure the advantage for science and the credit for Rome.

On the evening of the 10th of this month the Academy of the Archæologia held their last stated meeting for the academical year. They will not assemble for ordinary business until after October. On this occasion the secretary read a dissertation transmitted by the corresponding associate, Cavaliere Luigi Nardi, in which he gives the history of the commentaries of Pope Pius II, who died in 1464, having governed the Church nearly six years. The associate describes the different editions of this work, and informs the academy that an apograph, or antique MS. copy of these commentaries of an early date has been found in the Gambalunga of Rimino, which has many very fine and useful passages, by which this work of the learned pontiff can be well corrected and made perfect, as has long been desired.

The secretary then entered upon a train of reasoning in regard to the early culture of Indian arts, based on the painting of an antique Italian vase, found this year in the Bolsenian excavations, and kept in the fine collection of the Campanari in this city. This vase is a Tyrrhenian pitcher two Roman palms and nine inches in height. On the principal side it exhibits, distinguished by their names, Ajax and Achilles. They appear to have cast lots to decide, as the secretary supposes, some military contest. The perfect execution of the figures in black upon a yellow ground, in the best style, does honor to the artist already well known by other discovered works; he has marked his name, Ezècia, in two places upon this vessel, which is one of the most precious that is known.

Besides the above, I know the following: The Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics: Protector, Cardinal Pacca, dean of the sacred college, and Bishop of Ostia; President, the Most Rev. James Sinibaldi, Archbishop of Damietta. Theological Academy, holding its meeting in the Roman University.

Protectors, Cardinals Pacca, Zurla, Lambruschini, and Albano; Secretary, Rev. Angelo Mai. Unica of Ecclesiastics of St. Paul, held in the Church of Sant. Appolonara: Protector, Cardinal Zurla; First Regulator, Most Rev. John Soglia, Archbishop of Ephesus; Secretary-General, Rev. Pius Bigni. The Arcadia, for lighter literature, and improvisation; its ordinary meetings are held at the Serbatorio, in the Via del Lavatore, near the splendid fountain of Trevi; the solemn ones at the capitol: Guardian-General, the Rev. Gabriel Laureani; Pro-Guardian, Don Paolo Barola. The Latin Academy holds its sessions in the Palazzo Sinibaldi; of this, the lawyer Francis Guadagni is president, and Signor Frederic Petrilli is secretary. The Philharmonic Academy unites perhaps the most splendid assemblage of vocal and instrumental performers in any one body in the world. I have been more than once at their performance, to which, in the proper seasons, the respectable strangers in the city are generously invited. It is a pity that their rooms are not larger. The principal one would scarcely accommodate four hundred persons. Prince D. Francis Borghese is president of the Academy, and Signor Joseph Spada is secretary; their rooms are in the Palazzo Lancelloti, near the Piazza Navona. The Philodramatic Academy holds its meetings at No. 18, near the Palazzo Cesarini in the Via del Pavone, under the presidency of the commander, Pietro of the Princes Odescalchi; the secretary is Signor Joseph Capobianchi. The names of these several societies sufficiently denote with the explanations given what are their general objects. I do not know of any other. I believe they are twelve in all.

The Theological Schools are numerous, and the rivalry in science is not small. Amongst those schools one belonging to the Franciscan Order has lately made a considerable display. In 1588, Pope Sixtus V founded the College of St. Bonaventure in the Convent of the XII Apostles, for *young minor conventual* students. This has generally *sustained a fair character* and produced some learned men. In

last June, a triennial examination for degrees was held, and the objectors were not idle. The bachelors who had attained their first honors in the provincial schools of the Order, now came to this college not only to seek their higher grade by examination, but also, by literary contest, to seek for the pre-eminence of their several schools and teachers. Cardinal Brancadoro, who is now seventy-nine years of age and thirty-three years a cardinal, and is the senior on the bench of cardinal-priests, is Archbishop of Fermo and protector of this college. Being unable to attend, he requested Pacca, the cardinal-dean to represent him. The degrees of the successful candidates were conferred under the regency of the Rev. Father, Master Hyacinth Guarlerni, on Saturday the 12th inst. After which the Rev. Father Collegial, Antonio Casaro of Calatafemi, in Sicily, who had been selected for the purpose, defended his theses, which he had dedicated to Cardinal Brancadoro. The defence was made in the Church of the XII. I remained only a few moments, and as the propositions that I saw selected by the objectors were mere squabbles upon scholastic opinions, I took but little interest in the useless subtlety of metaphysical abstraction in which they were engaged.

The following is a list of the theological seminaries and colleges of Rome, besides that of the Roman University or Sapienza. I give them here as they are recognized, though in many instances two are united in one establishment, and others, though they keep separate houses, yet attend the same course of lectures: 1. The Roman Seminary for the diocese of Rome. 2. The Seminary of the Chapter of St. Peter's, for that church, etc. Colleges: 3. The Roman, taught by the Jesuits. 4. The Urban, at the Propaganda. 5. Germanico-Hungarian, at the Gesù. 6. Of St. Thomas of Aquin. 7. Salviati. 8. Capranicense. 9. English. 10. Scotch, now at the Propaganda. 11. Irish. 12. Greek, at the Propaganda. 13. Maronist, do. 14. Ginnasi. 15. Pamphili. 16. Bandinelli. 17. Ghislieri. 18. Clementine. 19. Nazarine. 20. Sabine. 21. Of Liege. 22. Of Neophytes. 23. Carasoli Piceno.

The Roman University, or the Sapienza, is an institution of vast literary convenience and unusual facilities. Its body of professors is a host indeed; its schools open to every aspirant. I shall give you the summary. The Cardinal Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church is ex-officio arch-chancellor of this university. (Galleffi is at present Camerlengo.) Deputy-rector: Monsignor Jerome Bontadosi, consistorial advocate. The first college is that of consistorial advocates, consisting of a dean, secretary, and seven members. The vice-rector is the advocate, Raffaelle Bertinelli. Second college: Theologians, a president, secretary, and fourteen members, of whom two only are seculars; the others of the various religious orders. Third college: Medicine and Surgery, a dean, secretary, and sixteen doctors. Fourth college: Philosophy, a president and thirteen members. Fifth college: Philology, a president and eight members. In the lists of the above councillors is many a learned name. Professors and Lecturers: 1. Sacred Department.—Holy Scriptures, one; Speculative Theology, three; Theological topics, one; Moral Theology, one; Ecclesiastical History, one; Sacred Physics, one. 2. Department of Laws.—Natural Law and Law of Nations, one; Public Ecclesiastical Law, one; Institutions of Canon Law, one; Texts of Canon Law, one; Institutes of Civil Law, one; Texts of Civil Law, two; Institutes of Criminal Law, one. 3. Department of Medicine and Surgery.—Anatomical Institutes, one; Physiology, one; Elements of Chemistry, one; Botany, one; Practical Botany, one; Pathology, etc., one; Therapeutics and Materia Medica, one; Theory and Practice of Medicine, one; Medical Jurisprudence, one; Clinical Lectures, two; Comparative Anatomy and Natural History of Animals, one; Surgery, etc., one; Obstetrics, one; Clinical Surgery, one; Practical Pharmacy, one; Veterinary Surgery, one. 4. Department of Philosophy.—Experimental Physics, one; Introduction to the Calculus, one; Sublime Calculus, one; Mechanics and Hydraulics, one; Optics and Astronomy, one; *Architecture as connected* with Statics and Hydraulics, one;

Descriptive Geometry, one; Mineralogy and Natural History, one; Archæology, one. 5. Department of Philosophy.—Latin and Italian Eloquence and Roman History, one; Hebrew, one; Arabic, one; Syro-Chaldaic, one. Besides these forty-seven professors, all paid by the Pope, there are six jubilated or superannuated professors, five emeriti, or persons having honorably retired, and two honorary, not counting the director of the chancery. Yet Rome is the enemy of learning!

VIII.

August 1st was the Festival of the Liberation of St. Peter, or as it is called, "St. Peter's Chains," and I was desirous of being present at the church at which it is celebrated, but a slight indisposition prevented my going out in the morning. In the afternoon I got into a carriage and told the coachman to drive to the Esquiline Hill to San Pietro in Vincola. When I arrived, I found the open space in front occupied by carriages, a few beggars, and a considerable number of persons going in and coming out. A large screen of canvass was extended forward like a shed at a considerable height, attached to the front of the church, to keep off the scorching sun, and the ground was strewed with bay and other sweet-smelling evergreens and shrubs. Upon entering the church I perceived they were chanting the solemn second vespers at the principal altar. The church was decorated with fine crimson silk and gold lace, covering many of the columns in the principal parts, and a large portion of the walls. Other tapestry covered other parts. The abbot was seated at the epistle side of the altar, coped and mitred, and his community occupied their places in the recess behind the altar, to its front, for this is one of the old-fashioned altars whose back is to the church. I took my place in the transept on the same side, under the splendid and powerful organ, having opposite to me at the other extremity of the transept the magnificent mausoleum of Pope Julius II of which the extraordinary

statue of Moses, by Michael Angelo, forms the most striking part. The music was indeed rich and varied, and the singing of the choir was exquisite.

About midway between the porch and the altar, on your right hand as you enter, is the altar upon which the relics from which the church takes its title were placed on this festival. It was richly decorated, and the candles were lighted. A fine casket of considerable size contained the relics. They are the chains with which it is said the Apostle St. Peter was bound in Jerusalem and in Rome, and which are believed to have miraculously united. I have not as yet examined the evidence on which the assertion rests; and as it is no article of faith, I am not called upon to believe farther than my own judgment will have dictated after having examined the special grounds of the assertion. I shall, for the present, suppose the truth of the statement. I have a promise from the abbot of being furnished with a copy of the testimony, which I shall examine at my leisure. From time to time a priest in a surplice and stole came, properly accompanied, to the altar, opened the casket, and drawing out the chain, one extremity of which remained fastened to the interior of the case itself, applied the other extremity to the necks of those who knelt before him, after which they kissed the relic, whilst he repeated a short form of prayer on their behalf. As I had not the opportunity of examining the church and relics as closely as I could wish, by reason of the service and of the crowd, I departed, determined to go this morning, at an early hour, for that purpose.

Accordingly, I went and had every facility. I saw the abbot, who is an exceedingly learned man, Dom Paolo Del Signore, Professor of Church History in the Roman University, and having told him my desire to examine minutely the chains and their history, he kindly accompanied me, and directed all concerned with any department of the *establishment, to give* me full information, aid and opportunity.

I went to the altar upon which the chains were placed. This case stands upon four short silver-gilt legs, about an inch in height; it is made of hard wood, lined with velvet, and covered outside with plates of highly chased silver: it is about eight or ten inches high, about fifteen or sixteen inches front and twelve deep; the cover, which is solidly attached, rises gradually towards the centre from four sides, to about two inches in height, and the projection is less than half an inch, the entire in the form of a roof nearly square. A child, finely executed in silver, with loose, flying drapery, stands on its summit, his right hand moderately extended and holding a tiara, his left gracefully and easily carried across his chest, towards the right side, a little above the hip, and from it hangs a chain. The chasing is principally free fancy scroll-work around seraphim. The front is a gate, having two large oval glazed apertures, through which you see the links of chain coiled up within the case. I opened this and drew out the chain. It consists of thirty-two links of moderate size, from three to four inches in length; I should suppose the heaviest link would not exceed the weight of six ounces. At one extremity is a light sort of hoop sufficiently large to embrace the neck or both wrists; it consists of two parts united to each other and to the chain by a rivet or gudgeon, on which, as on a hinge, they turn; one of these has a loop or eye at its extremity, and the other two prongs, one of which being introduced into the eye both might with some force be so twisted together as to secure the junction, and confine whatever was enclosed by the hoop. Upon close examination it will be easily perceived that there are three descriptions of links: four are much lighter and more delicate than the rest, and one by which they are united to the others has the soldering of the junction made with silver. These links are said to have belonged to the chain with which St. *Paul* was bound. A number of the other links, I did not count how many, but I should suppose eight or ten, are

less gross than the others, and appear much more worn at the places of contact. No mark of junction, however, is observable; and it is, moreover, asserted that one of the chains with which the Apostle was bound under Herod in Jerusalem, having been given in that city to Eudocia, the Empress of Theodosius the Younger, was sent by her to Rome to her daughter Eudoxia, who brought it to the Pope, and he had in his possession a chain with which the Apostle had been bound in Rome under Nero. Both chains formed, as it were, a spontaneous union, by the immediate influence of the divine power; and the links of St. Paul's chain having been added, they are preserved as memorials and relics, by means of which the faith of the people might be strengthened, and on regular days of solemn observance, the facts might be better brought under public consideration, and the gratitude and piety of the multitude increased, in like manner as God Himself regulated the exhibition of the brazen serpent to the multitude of Israel, the preservation of the manna in the ark, the rod of Aaron, and other relics which the chosen people long held in pious veneration. One of these links is fastened to the interior of the case with a hasp; and the case itself, whilst it remains upon this altar, is chained to it, and under continual observation. It is exhibited twice in the year; once on a day within the octave of SS. Peter and Paul, I think the 3d of July and the 1st of August, and during their octaves. The painting at this altar is the delivery of Peter from prison by the angel, as related in Acts xii.

At other times the relic, enclosed in its casket, is placed in a large case of less costly materials, and kept in a recess in the wall of the society with some other relics. This recess is closed by an iron grating, the key of whose lock is held by the abbot. Outside this grate is a beautiful bronze gate with two locks, the key of one of which is kept by the cardinal, who is titular of this church, at present Castracane degli Antimenelli, and the other by the *Pope's major-domo,* at present the Most Rev. Dr. Patrizi, *Archbishop of Philippi.*

The church is built upon the site of the baths of Titus, on the Esquiline, not very far from the Coliseum. The original building, which dates as far back as the end of the fifth century, did not extend beyond the present main nave as far as the transept. This is easily distinguished from the rest; it consists of three aisles separated by two colonnades crowned with arches; the middle aisle is about forty feet wide, and each of the others about half that width. In each of those, I may call them arcades, are ten fine fluted Doric columns of Grecian marble taken from the baths of Dioclesian; each shaft is but a single block, upwards of twenty feet in length. Upon a smart friction with iron, a sub-sulphureous smell is perceptible. At the termination of this middle aisle is a lofty arch, sustained by two fine columns of granite with marble capitols of the composite order; this begins the more recent, but yet sufficiently ancient part of the building. The large conch-like recess which forms the sanctuary was a portion of the baths of Titus. The altar and choir are on the ancient model; the altar considerably forward, with its back towards the church, so that the celebrant standing at it faces the congregation; and the benches of the choir attached to the wall of the recess, with the president's seat at its extremity exactly facing the altar, but having it between him and the people. I shall not in this place speak of its decorations, or paintings, or any other particulars. Between this recess and the old church of Eudoxia is the transept, a fine open space. When you enter it and look towards the altar, you have on your left a beautiful organ, and on your right, at the other extremity, the splendid monument of Julius II, who died in 1513. I cannot undertake to describe this. But probably, as few of your readers have seen accounts of it, I shall give them a very faint idea of this great work of the celebrated sculptor, whose conceptions were all gigantic as his genius.

The monument occupies the larger portion of the ex*tremity* of the transept, and consists of two stories. The

lower has three compartments, and is upwards of twenty feet high. Four immense blocks of pure white marble projecting from the back and formed into partitions, whose fronts are decorated with bold and beautiful scrolls and bear various emblematic devices, give a division of three great stalls, of which that in the centre is much the largest. Seated in this, considerably forward, in an easy, dignified, and commanding attitude, in a loose, flowing robe, with the tables of the law resting in his right hand, the colossal figure of the mighty leader of the host of Israel fixes the attention of the most negligent. Every joint is massive, every limb is immense, but the entire is in the most symmetrical proportion. The muscles of that arm which smote the rock seem braced as the rock itself, and yet you would imagine that the finger of an infant would leave the impression of its touch upon the surface; the drapery would change its folds in the agitation of breeze, or with the motion of the limb it covers. There is something expressively majestic in the flowing of those wreaths of beard; the eye shows keen vigor and penetration, and looks upon some object of mighty moment, with a degree of interest, mingled with momentary satisfaction and the consciousness of the power to command; the lips are parted, and we are not astonished to hear, that the mighty artist, when he perfected his work, stood with his own eye riveted upon that face, and after the absorption of his faculties, carried away by his feeling, and anxious to know what lay concealed, impatiently struck the knees, which he could reach with his chisel, and cried, "Speak!"

The figure of Meditation in the niche on his right, and that of Prudence on his left, would, if placed elsewhere, be well worthy of attention. They as well as those over them were made by Mateo Lupo; but the observer is perpetually drawn off, without perceiving the process by which it is effected, to the principal figure itself.

The second story is divided in like manner. The Pontiff, Julius II, is reclining in a posture half raised from his cushion, and stooping forward as if to point the

observers to the contemplation of the sainted Hebrew who sits below. He is in pontificals, wearing his tiara. In a niche considerably above him is a finely executed statue of Religion, with a child in her arms; this innocent holds a bird that attracts his attention; as far as I could observe it was a dove, emblematic of himself. In the recesses at each side of the Pontiff are Temperance on the right and Pontifical Sagacity upon the left. The effect produced by the group is magnificent.

Turning to my left, to enter the sacristy by a door which is to the right of the monument, my attention was arrested by the painting over the altar which was close at hand, and which terminated the right aisle of the church. It was not large, nor was the light strong, nor the piece very distinctly seen, yet I saw it was worthy of a master's name. I am no connoisseur. I am ignorant of those phrases which are familiar even to companions of the virtuosi. But I know when I am affected; and generally I can discover what occasions the feeling. A fine female figure, in which calm dignity, without affectation, and the expression of a noble intellect, were blended with the intrepidity of that heroism which becomes her sex, and that softness and delicacy which are compatible with the strength and vigor and healthful firmness of attained womanhood. A terrific dragon, whose glaring eyeballs showed a raging fire that burned without consuming, its distended mouth exhibiting a projected tongue whose point was formidable and whose livid hue denoted the poison with which it was swollen, gave also to view its destructive ranges of teeth. The vapor which issued from the throat of this monster seemed pestilential even to the eye; and many a scaly and nervous fold was discerned through the murky mass which covered the abyss that glowed below. With her eye steadily fixed on the monster, Margaret serenely contemplated the vain efforts that he made; whilst her right hand steadily *held* aloft, even within his view, that cross by which she was protected. How beautifully impressive was the lesson

that it taught; showing at once the violence, the fury, and the origin of passion, and the facility with which it is overcome by the powerful application of the merits of a crucified Saviour! The brother drew aside the curtains from the window. The countenance of the saint was mildly radiant; and the fire of the assailant seemed more hot. Her serenity was undisturbed, her drapery was exquisite. Hers was the expression of that humble consciousness of divine support, by which victory is felt as secure even before the close of the contest. I asked who was the artist. "He was," said the brother, "a man who wanted bread. He had genius, but he found no protector. He would have died of hunger, but for the canons regular of the Lateran Basilica; for such is our title, though others have been substituted for us in that church. Our community saved Guercino from want, and in return for the hospitality he received, he repaid us by his pencil." "And this St. Margaret is by Guercino," said I.

IX.

Leaving the altar of St. Margaret, we went towards the sacristy. The hall into which we first entered had a finely paved floor of large mosaic, many of the component parts of which were pietra dura, or precious stone, as contradistinguished from marble. The pavement itself was that of the ancient baths of Titus, as was that of the two rooms that served for the sacristy. To me the contemplation of this floor was one of the best evidences of the imperial wealth and general luxury of Rome about eighteen centuries ago. Porphyry, serpentino, stellato were amongst the more ordinary parts, and giallo antico, verde antico, rosso antico were in profusion.

My object was to see the place in which the chains are usually kept. The recess is about three feet deep in the thickness of the wall and carefully lined. It is over the *vesting table opposite* you as you enter, at the height of

about six feet from the floor to the sill of the doors. The aperture is about four feet square in the centre of the wall; it is surrounded by a fine entablature of antique yellow marble with its mouldings neatly executed; at the sides are two Ionic pilasters of Sicilian jasper, with the caps and volutes of marble richly gilt. Midway towards the angle on each side are corresponding marble panels in the wall, each nearly as large as the aperture. Each of these consists of three slabs of equal size; that in the centre is serpentino stellato, with dark porphyry on either side. Readers might not all know that this serpentino is a stone of a varied green color, and is harder than marble—therefore it is called pietra dura, or hard stone. It has the same quality as cornelian, jasper, etc. When it has a number of small white stars it is called stellato. This is rare and much esteemed. These panels are surrounded by old mosaic.

The ceiling is vaulted, but the arches which form this vault spring from the four sides, and as the room is not a square but an oblong parallelogram about twenty feet by fifteen, a panel formed where the arches would meet is oblong too. Upon this there is a fine fresco of the liberation of Peter by the angel. Four other frescoes surround this on the vault; at the head is Peter getting out of his boat to walk to Jesus whom he sees upon the shore; at the foot is the committal of Peter to prison by Herod; on the right is the death of Annanias and Sapphira; and on the left, the healing of the cripple who asked alms at the Beautiful Gate of the temple. At the angles, niches rise in the vaults, in which appropriate devices are given; three niches also rise at each side of the vault from the springing of the arch. In the centre one, over the recess for the preservation of the relics, is a fresco of the Blessed Virgin, and the others are occupied by saints. The remainder of the ceiling was decorated, in the year 1500, by Zucchari, with sprigs and scrolls after the manner of the baths of *Titus;* these are also colored in fresco and are in an excellent state of preservation.

The gates of the recess are perhaps some of the best executed bronzes in existence. Each gate consists of three panels, the middle one being the principal; this is about eighteen inches square, surrounded by a fine border, with varied enrichings in delicate bronze. The subject on the one to your left as you examine is the imprisonment of Peter. Upon the portion which exhibits the main group there are at least seventeen human figures in various reliefs and different attitudes; the whole is wrought in a masterly and delicate style. Herod sits on his tribunal, with his emblems of office; the seat is in a fine niche of a large building. From the windows of the upper floor a number of persons are seen looking at the crowd that proceeds from the tribunal to the gate of the prison; the Apostle is prominent in this crowd, with an air of dignified resignation, approaching the door into which the keeper is thrusting his ponderous key. In the background, in fine perspective, is seen the front of some public building with three large niches, at various distances from the spectator, each containing some statue. The drapery is finely wrought, and on many of the figures portions of it are remarkably well gilt. Some of the persons appear to stand out fully separated from the panel, whilst little more than the outlines of others are discernible. On the oblong panel, over this, in the upper compartment, are two winged children, one at each extremity, who hold the ends of a finely filled festoon of leaves and flowers; over the centre of the festoon is the scutcheon with the family arms of Rovera; a sort of tree with its branches interwoven at the top and the tiara projecting. On the lower compartment, which corresponds in size and shape with the upper, are two trees, one at each extremity, the trunks near the ends, and the higher branches extending so as to meet nearly at the top of the centre; under each tree is a winged child, and in the centre the inscription in raised letters: SIXTUS QUARTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS.

On the corresponding gate to your right hand the upper

compartment is similar, but that a cardinal's hat supplies the place of the tiara. The only difference in the lower compartment is the inscription, which is: JULIUS CARD. SANCTI PETRI AD VINCULA; SANCTÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESIÆ PŒNITENTIARIUS, MCCCCLXXVII. The middle panel is divided into three parts. That on your right exhibits the interior of a prison; the Apostle is lying on the floor, chained to a soldier on each side, both sleeping, one reclining, the other nearly erect and leaning against an angle. The angel is awakening the Apostle; and in the background other sleepers are seen, soldiers and prisoners intermixed. In the centre is the passage outside this dungeon, which extends down a good distance in excellent perspective, with a statue in a niche at its termination. The angel leads Peter from the dungeon, treading cautiously upon some armor that lies scattered over the floor. The Apostle seems doubting the reality of his delivery, yet is very careful to keep close to his conductor. The compartment on the left is the outer wall of the prison in which was the large iron gate, opening spontaneously to allow a passage. After passing through this the Apostle felt assured of his safety.

The collections of leaves and other decorations that go around each gate comprising its three panels are wrought with a lightness and softness of appearance equal to wax. This is one of the chef d'œuvres of the brothers Pullajoli, who cast the fine gates of St. Peter's at the Vatican. Their remains are interred in this church at the Esquiline. Cardinal Julius Rovera was nephew to Pope Sixtus IV, and had this and other works executed for this church, of which he was the titular cardinal-priest.

X.

The respectable abbot of St. Peter's has kindly furnished me with the dissertation which he promised, compiled by *one* of his order. It is a work now very scarce, of about *fifty* pages, quarto; a production which, however, must have

occupied much time, and required great patience and profound research. The writer is one of those laborious, enlightened, judicious and candid critics, whom the monasteries have furnished in great abundance. He shows that it cannot be distinctly known at present whether the church, which originally stood upon the site now occupied by that in which the chains are kept, was, as many authors state, the first which the Apostle Peter dedicated after his arrival in Rome—and that hence it was called, subsequently, and before the chains were placed there, St. Peter's Church. He shows that the chains were, from the earliest period, held in high estimation in Rome. He does not, however, bring such testimony as would make evidence for their authenticity, unless we admit one or more of the miracles which he relates as wrought by their means; and one at least of these is sustained by testimony which to me appears fully sufficient, making direct and circumstantial evidence abundant for every person who has not determined to be incredulous. He avows that great difficulty and indistinctness is found in the testimony respecting the miraculous junction of the chains brought from Jerusalem and that with which the Apostle was bound in Rome; and states that he can find no evidence beyond an unsustained and vague and imperfect tradition. But respecting the bringing of one of the chains from Jerusalem to Rome, the testimony amounts to a very great probability, though by no means sufficient to produce certainty. The reading of the work has, upon the whole, produced in my mind the conclusion of the authenticity of the relic itself; though I am not satisfied of the sufficiency of the proof by which it is sought to sustain several particular statements that are matters of pious belief. I look upon its preservation and exhibition to public respect to be not only rational and laudable, but exceedingly useful to religion. I write from my own experience when I inform you that by it the understanding is enlightened, the heart is moved; the respectful recollection of the Apostle raises the soul to a still

higher veneration for the commission with which he was invested, and of the faithful and painful discharge of whose duties this chain is an enduring witness. He who contemplates the relic upon the altar and witnesses that iron which enclosed the martyr's neck, bows in silent adoration, more resigned to the worldly and transient afflictions which Providence allots to him. The history of the saints is the justification of that Providence, which by some afflictions subjects to a penance in this transient state and makes perfect by tribulation those who, enriched by grace, are found faithful and destined for glory. Who would not prefer to suffer upon earth, and to be glorious in heaven with Lazarus and with Peter, than to die like Dives or like Nero? The sumptuous repasts have long since ceased. The bright and delicate vesture has faded and decayed. The golden palace is a heap of ruins. Ages have flowed away, and eternity is yet, if I might use the expression, in the very infancy of its duration. Sorrow is changed into joy, and the instrument of pain, the badge of disgrace, has become the evidence of fidelity, as it was the occasion of merit, and continues to be the emblem of triumph and the incitement to virtue. We feel the full force of that passage of the Apostle in which he says, that "God chooses the foolish things of the world that He might confound the wise—and the weak things of the world that He might confound the strong—and the ignoble things of the world, and the contemptible things of the world, did God choose, and the things that are not, that He might bring to nought the things that are, so that no flesh should glory in His sight."

In this church is another of Guercino's pieces, which attracted my notice, and for a time riveted my attention more even upon the moral than upon the production of the artist. The altar over which it is placed is near that of the chains; St. Augustine, the great Bishop of Hippo, is *finely* represented in the mood of most intense investigation. *In the* features you at once perceive the deep research and

the anxiety of inquiry; the eye would seem to penetrate beyond the sphere of his existence, and to scrutinize a world far, far beyond the scan of ordinary men. He is seated near the margin of the ocean; and a beautiful child, at a small distance from the prelate, seems to be equally intent upon his own occupation. He has a large shell with which he appears determined to draw off the waters of the ocean and to pour them on the land.

The saint relates that one day when endeavoring to form some idea of the nature of the infinite and eternal Creator, and led in his contemplations to try find some objects of comparison and to discern the mode of the Triune existence of the Almighty; after many a fruitless effort, he saw that a child thus occupied was the best emblem of an aspiring mortal who would endeavor, with his limited faculties, to grasp infinity. It reminded me of the solemn and sublime address of the Lord Himself to the wise, the patient, and the contemplative Eastern:

"When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God made joyful melody, who shut up the sea with doors when it broke forth as issuing out of the womb? When I made a cloud the garment thereof, and wrapped it in a mist as in swaddling bands, I set my bounds around it, and made it a bar and doors; and I said: Hitherto thou shalt come, and shalt go no further, and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves." [1]

[1] Job, c. 38, v. 7-11.

THE WALDENSES.

I HAVE found the following article in a Protestant paper:

"AN OLD CONFESSION OF FAITH.

"'Where was your religion before Luther?' is a standing interrogatory, fabricated for the double purpose of sustaining the pretensions of the Papacy to universal Catholicism, and to tantalize unlettered Protestants, by assuring them that their religion is of a very modern origin. The question, however, can be triumphantly answered. But, without attempting it at present, we shall merely adduce the Confession of Faith which was adopted by the much-persecuted Waldenses more than 400 years before Luther.

"There are several confessions of the faith of these Christians of the valleys, some of them bearing a very early date, still extant. Sir Samuel Morland has fixed the date of the earliest in the year 1120; it reads as follows:

"'1. We believe and firmly maintain all that is contained in the twelve articles of the symbol, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, and we regard as heretical whatever is inconsistent with the said twelve articles. 2. We believe that there is one God, Father, Son, and Spirit. 3. We acknowledge, for canonical Scriptures, the books of the Holy Bible. (The books enumerated correspond exactly with our received canon; the Apocrypha is excluded). 4. The books above mentioned teach us that there is one God Almighty, unbounded in wisdom, and infinite in goodness, and who in His goodness has made all things; for He *created* Adam after His own image and likeness: but, *through* the enmity of the devil and his disobedience Adam

fell, sin entered into the world, and we became transgressors in and by Adam. 5. That Christ had been promised to the fathers who received the law, to the end that knowing their sin by the law, and their unrighteousness and insufficiency, they might desire the coming of Christ to make satisfaction for their sins and to accomplish the law by Himself. 6. That at the time appointed by the Father, Christ was born; a time when inquiry everywhere abounded, to make it manifest that it was not for the sake of any good in ourselves, for we were all sinners, but that He who is true might display His grace and mercy towards us. 7. That Christ is our life, and truth, and peace, and righteousness, our shepherd and our advocate, our sacrifice and peace, who died for the satisfaction of all who should believe, and rose again for our justification. 8. And we also believe, that there is no other mediator or advocate with God the Father but Jesus Christ; and as to the Virgin Mary, she was holy, humble, and full of grace. And this we also believe concerning all other saints, namely, that they are waiting in heaven for the resurrection of their bodies at the day of judgment. 9. We also believe that, after this life there are but two places, one for those that are saved, the other for the damned, which two we call paradise and hell, wholly denying that imaginary purgatory of Antichrist, invented in opposition to the truth. 10. Moreover, we have ever regarded all the inventions of men in the affairs of religion as an unspeakable abomination before God; such as the festival days and vigils of saints, and what is called holy water, the abstaining from flesh on certain days, and such like things; but, above all, human inventions which produce distress, (probably meaning penance), and are prejudicial to the liberty of mind. 12. We consider the sacraments as signs of holy things, or as the visible emblems of invisible blessings. We regard it as proper and even necessary, that believers use these symbols and forms when it can be done. Notwithstanding which, *we maintain that believers* may be saved without these

signs when they have neither place nor opportunity of observing them. 13. We acknowledge no sacrament as of divine opportunity but baptism and the Lord's Supper. 14. We honor the secular powers with subjection, obedience, promptitude, and payment.'

"Several subsequent confessions of the Waldenses are of similar tenor, recognizing all the fundamental doctrines of the Reformation; but some parts of them are more pointedly directed against the errors of the Romish Church, such as the restricting of the use of the Scriptures to the clergy, the infallibility of the Pope, &c. The Waldenses seem at all times to have laid particular stress upon the point of the Church of Rome being the Antichrist, the harlot of Babylon, the man of sin, the son of perdition, spoken of in the New Testament prophecies; and they insisted strenuously upon the necessity of separation from her communion, though they nevertheless inculcate obedience to their Popish rulers."

Before entering into the particulars of this confession, it may be as well, supposing the truth of its date, to consider its claim to the term old. The present is the year 1837 from the birth of our Saviour, that is to say, 1804 from the descent of the Holy Ghost and the establishment of the Christian Church. Now, supposing the correctness of the date fixed by Sir Samuel Morland, 1120, this confession is 717 years old, and 1087 years after the establishment of the Church; that is, 370 years nearer to our day, than to that of the descent of the Holy Ghost. This is no great evidence of its Christian antiquity!

Again, it is said to be more than 400 years before Luther. Now Martin Luther was born on the 10th of November, 1483, that is 363 years after the supposed date of this confession, and I am indeed at a loss to discover how 363 is more than 400.

But this is not all. The writer tells us that it is the *confession* of the Waldenses. Everybody knows that the *Waldenses* were so called because they were the disciples

and the followers of Peter Waldo, who did not begin to form any disciples until after the year 1160, that is forty years after the period assigned for the date of this confession of faith, and thus the period of more than 400 years must be reduced to 323 at the most before the birth of Martin Luther; and this gentleman was not more than thirty-four years of age when he began to assail the Church. I believe that it can be shown by good evidence that the document called "The Old Confession of Faith," an abstract of which is given above, and a more full copy of which I have lying on the table before me, was not formed until about twenty-five years after the year 1160, which would reduce the more than 400 years to less than 300 years before Luther.

My object is not to diminish the value of this very old confession, by detracting from its antiquity, but to show the danger of loosely dealing in general assertions when persons are treating of facts. Another object is to show the danger of trusting to loose writers, when a person undertakes to give the copy or even the substance of such a document as a confession of faith.

I shall now supply a few omissions, not denying that in the form above given there is a pretty accurate description of some of the articles, but totally denying that the formulary is either perfect, complete, adequate, or full, in representing the doctrines of the followers of Peter Waldo, at any moment after they drew up anything like a confession of their belief.

A considerable portion of the above formulary is taken from their book called "The Spiritual Calendar;" more is taken substantially but not verbally from the description or history of Perrin. For instance, Article 3 is not taken exactly as a copy, but substantially and not very accurately; but Articles 12 and 14 are literal translations, the original of which we give as a literary curiosity:

"12. Nos cresen que li sacrament son segnal de la cosa sancta o forma vesibla de gratia non vesibla, tenent. esserbon *que li fidel uzan* alcunas vecs duquisti dict segnal, o forma

vesibla, si la se po far. Ma imperço nos cresen et tenen que li predict fidel pon esser fait saifs non recebent li preeict segnal quand non han lo luoc, ni lo modo de poer uzar de li predict segnal."

"14. Nos deven donar, a la potesta secular, en subjection, en obediença, en prompteza et en pagament."

The omissions are very many. I shall state a portion:

1. No notice is taken of their grand principle and most important charge against the Catholic Church, viz.: That she ceased to be the Church of Christ under Pope Sylvester, in the beginning of the 4th century, because she accepted temporal possessions from the Emperor Constantine, whereby, leaving apostolical simplicity and evangelical poverty, she became the conventicle of Satan.

2. No notice is taken of their assertion, that they believed the Church was become the scarlet lady, because the Pope and the prelates in his communion were murderers, inasmuch as they approved of or at least permitted the waging of war.

3. They pronounced the Church to be fallen, because she admitted distinctions between her members, styling some of them clergy of various orders, and others laity, thereby destroying their Christian equality.

4. They condemned the Church because she allowed priests to possess their family property, contrary to the divine precept in Deuteronomy xviii.

5. They taught that the Church was an abomination in the eye of heaven, because its clergy were permitted to receive prebends, or portions, or stipends, or pensions from foundations of real estate, attached to churches, contrary to the above and other laws.

6. They complained of the un-Christian conduct of the Church in allowing persons who were guilty of the crime of possessing land, as property of their own, and not as that of the community, to receive the sacraments.

7. They taught that the Church had grossly erred from the true religion of Jesus Christ, by having churches endowed

with property, thereby straying from holy poverty and deluding the unfortunate persons who were guilty of the crime of such endowments.

8. They believed that it was an attribute of Antichrist to leave a legacy to a church, and therefore that it was criminal to bequeath and criminal to receive such legacy.

9. They did not consider that any pastor of souls was qualified for his place except he supported himself by the labors of his hands, as the Apostles did, and they considered the Church which supported the clergy from any other funds to be the scarlet lady.

10. They taught, that there should be no distinction of offices in the Church, as it only favored vanity instead of promoting religion.

11. Notwithstanding the 14th Article, they professed to believe that all princes and judges were in a state of damnation.

12. They condemned as vanities of the devil all the academies or privileged schools or literary distinctions.

I could swell the catalogue, but I have gone sufficiently far to show that the Waldenses would, if to-day they could reappear amongst us, condemn the disciples of Luther and of Calvin equally as they would the Roman Catholic Church for several of those damnable and Antichristian errors; against which they inveighed in their day, as loudly as those do who, without holding their principles, claim them as their predecessors, and who undertake to condemn us also to-day.

I have given the above abstract of some omissions to the alleged copy of the confession of the Waldenses proper.

But were I to follow up the peculiarities of the sects into which this offset from the Church divided in a few years after its separation from the Catholic body, I could indeed fill many sheets.

The Waldenses proper were frequently designated Leonists, *from the city of Lyons*, where they had their origin, as *they were also called* Poor Men of Lyons, from their profes-

sion of evangelical poverty and declaiming against ri and the possession of private property. They had var other names from the places of their abode and remark leaders; Good Men, from their sanctimonious appear and contempt for luxury and wealth.

They branched chiefly into the following sects:

1. Sciscidents, who contended for the necessity of rec ing the Eucharist, and approached nearer to the Cath doctrine respecting the nature of this sacrament.

2. Ortlibens, who professed the doctrines correctly, gave mystic interpretations by which they evaded their sense. They, amongst other curious notions, believed there was no Trinity previous to the incarnation, and Jesus was the son of Joseph; that marriage was good, its use was criminal. They looked for the judgment the millennium upon the conversion of the Pope and emperor.

3. The Ordibarists, besides some of the above noti believed that the Trinity was to be found in the mem of their society.

4. The Cathari, or Puritans, who, amongst a variety other peculiar errors, considered this world to have l created by the devil, looked upon marriage to be crim as also the eating of meet, of eggs, or of cheese, u any circumstances. This division soon became subdiv into Albanians and Bagnolensians, whose errors I do notice.

5. The Paterinians, who admitted Lucifer only as a creator, and had strange notions of marriage.

6. The Passagenians, who, amongst other peculiari considered the ritual portion of the Jewish law obliga upon Christians.

I could enumerate at least a dozen more, down to Lollards; but I have far exceeded the limits I prop to observe in this article.

The Bohemian remnant of this sect presented its con sion of faith to Ferdinand, King of the Romans a

Bohemia, in 1538, but it is very greatly altered from that produced by the writer under review, in many very capital points, especially where in its thirteenth article it treats of the nature of the Eucharist. Luther praises it, because it expresses the doctrines of the real presence, as does also the formulary which they sent to Hungary to King Ladislaus. Melanchthon and Bucer eulogize it also. Calvin, however, was by no means content with their declarations, and even in 1560 his answer to two of their messengers was, that their confession of faith, as it stood, could not be received or subscribed with safety.

This effort respecting the Waldenses is always full of trouble and perplexity to those who have essayed to obtain a semblance of antiquity by claiming these Poor Men of Lyons for their predecessors in the faith. This mode of stopping even at 1120 is unsatisfactory and useless. The best and wisest course is to go up to the days of the Apostles at once. Moore, in his "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion," furnishes the entire evidence in chapter xxvii, and shows that Simon Magus held some of those tenets which, after having been occasionally forgotten and revived, are contained in that confession of faith which the Waldenses published about eleven centuries later. A few more of the articles are shown by the same author in chapter xxii and xxiii to have been known at even an earlier period, for some were professed at Capharnaum in the Saviour's presence, in this simple phrase: "How can this man give us his flesh to eat? This saying is hard, and who can bear it?"

Should any of them ask this writer, "Where was your religion before Luther?" I have no doubt but by the aid of a little industry he could triumphantly answer, that it existed in scattered portions through various ages, from the days of the Apostles. As for my part, he may calculate upon my poor assistance, should he need it.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES.

DENMARK.

THIS country is a portion of that large tract formerly known by the name of Scandinavia, and was, about the close of the seventh century, given its modern appellation.[1]

Hume, who is certainly one of the worst authorities we know, where religion is even incidentally concerned, states that "the Emperor Charlemagne, though naturally generous and humane, had been induced by bigotry to exercise great severities upon the pagan Saxons in Germany, whom he had subdued; and, besides often ravaging their country with fire and sword, he had, in cold blood, decimated all the inhabitants for their revolts, and had obliged them, by the most rigorous edicts, to make a seeming compliance with the Christian doctrines."

My object, at present, is not to examine critically how many falsehoods are contained in the paragraph which I have quoted, but I distinctly assert that it was neither religion nor bigotry that caused this monarch to inflict severites upon the pagan Saxons, but their frequent rebellions, or, as Hume calls it, "revolts," and the perpetual guilt of persecution and plunder of Christians in their vicinity, who were his subjects, and whom he was bound by every law, human and divine, to protect. Mr. Hume frequently lays before his readers facts without stating their true cause, and many of his readers take the causes upon his authority as they find the facts generally admitted and incontrovertible. Thus he is guilty of deceit, not exactly by forging facts, but by misstating their causes and their *consequences*.

[1] See Horn's "Scandinavian Literature." This work was published in Odense, Den-

I have read the edicts of Charlemagne, and must say, that I cannot discover one which obliges the pagan Saxons to a seeming or a real compliance with the Christian doctrine; and I am under the impression that such edicts, rigorous or otherwise, cannot be in existence, because we do find others in existence with which they would be incompatible. The fact is, many other critics whose sagacity was equal to Hume's, whose information was at least equally accurate, and who, though they differed in religion as much from Charlemagne as did Mr. Hume, had much less virulent bigotry than he had. Bigotry is not confined to one side of a question. Those men give the true cause for the severity, perhaps cruelty, of the monarch: "He could place no dependence upon their promises nor their oaths; and the moment his forces were withdrawn, after the conclusion of a treaty to observe which they had sworn, they were again in arms." How would General Jackson treat such persons? The cases are parallel. Is Jackson a bigot? [1]

Those Saxons retired into Jutland and the isles at the mouth of the Baltic, and, to use the words of Hume, "meeting there with a people of similar manners, they were readily received amongst them; and they soon stimulated the natives to concur in enterprises which both promised revenge upon the haughty conqueror"—who informed Hume that Charlemagne was haughty?—"and afforded subsistence to those numerous inhabitants with which the northern countries were now overburdened."

This was the origin of the Danish invasions. Their first descent upon England was in the year 787. In 794, they made another incursion upon Northumberland. Poor, innocent, harmless beings! Would it not be the excess of bigotry to punish them because they were pagans, particularly as the executioners of vengeance must necessarily be Roman Catholics? In 832, they began more formidable

[1] *An allusion to President Jackson's treatment of the American aborigines. The words are quoted from one of his despatches.*

and systematic invasions; and, by Mr. Hume's reasoning, to oppose their burning the country, their rapine, their abuse of women, their enslaving or massacre of men, particularly of nuns or monks, would be unpardonable bigotry. Yet Hume calls them pirates!

It was no easy matter to convert this people; but with God's assistance, their conversion was effected — not by rigorous edicts, but by mild and apostolic preaching.

In the year 822, St. Adelard, Abbot of Old Corbie, and cousin-german of Charlemagne, founded the abbey of New Corbie, otherwise Corwey, upon the Weser, about nine miles from the city of Paderborn, and established very regular discipline therein. Amongst the monks who came hither from Old Corbie in France was one named Anscharius, called by the Germans Sharies, and by the French Ansgar. He was sent with a number of missionaries into Jutland and other parts of Scandinavia, and their preaching was eminently successful. They were favored by Harald, a prince of Denmark, who had been baptized in the court of Louis Debonnaire. In 832, Anscharius was made Archbishop of Hamburg and Legate Apostolic by Pope Gregory IV. In 845, the Normans and Danes, in an irruption, burned the city of Hamburg, and in 849, the See of Bremen becoming vacant, the Pope united that of Hamburg thereto, and made St. Anscharius archbishop of the two. The more northern regions having relapsed into idolatry, the saint made new efforts for their conversion, which were more permanently successful. He was greatly aided by the exertions of Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims. The first bishop of Bremen was St. Wilchad, an Englishman, a native of Northumberland, who was the first Christian missionary that passed the Elbe. He died in 789 or 790.

St. Rembert, a native of Flanders, in the vicinity of Bruges, succeeded St. Anscharius in the See of Bremen, in the year 865. He made great progress in spreading the faith in Denmark, and likewise began the conversion of the Sclavi or Vandals and of the Brandenburghers. He died on the 11th of June, 888.

King Eric I was baptized in 826. One of his successors, Swein or Sweno II apostatized, but his successor Knut or Canute II, surnamed the Great, who also succeeded Edmond Ironside on the throne of England in 1017, became a Catholic. In his reign many of his followers embraced Christianity in England, and many of the English ecclesiastics labored upon the Danish mission. Amongst these latter was St. William, who had been chaplain to Canute, and was afterwards Bishop of Roschild, in the isle of Zealand. Upon the death of Canute, he was succeeded in his Danish dominions by his son Swein, whom the bishop had more than once to reprove for his choler and injustice, but who, entering into himself, was subsequently not only religious, but greatly useful in the propagation of the faith. St. William and he both died and were buried in Roschild, in the year 1067.

About two centuries later, St. Hyacinth, a member of the illustrious house of the counts of Oldrovens, one of the most noble in Silesia, son of Count Konski, and born in the castle of Saxony, in 1185, and who was also one of the first members of the Dominican Order, having received the habit from St. Dominic himself in Rome, in the month of March, 1218, was a zealous apostle of this nation. The faith flourished therein, from its first planting and increase, as has been mentioned, until the anarchy and divisions of the sixteenth century.

In the year 1518, Christian II was King of Denmark; he was a tyrannical, ambitious, unprincipled monarch, and particularly aimed at getting possession of the crown of Sweden. Stenon, the Swedish king, suspected the Archbishop of Upsal and other prelates of his dominions of being favorable to the views of Christian, who in the next year invaded Sweden and got possession of the throne. His cruelties were excessive. This man added hypocrisy and sacrilege to his murders and usurpations. Driven from Stockholm, the Danish king no longer concealed his sentiments, but made open profession of his attachment to the

Lutheran cause. He was rejected by Denmark, his uncle Frederic, the Duke of Holstein, having been raised to the throne. Christian took refuge in Holland, whence he returned with an army to regain the throne, in 1531; but being defeated and taken, he was cast into prison, where he died in the year 1559. Stenon having died in 1520, of a wound received in battle, Gustavus, the son of Eric Vasa, was chosen king of Sweden.

In Denmark, the new monarch, Frederic, introduced Lutheranism, and proscribed and persecuted the Catholics. He died in 1535, and was succeeded by his son, Christian III, a good and moderate king, with the exception of his following the example of his father in the attempts to eradicate the Catholic religion by violence. Having founded a college at Copenhagen, and greatly encouraged learning, he died in 1559, and was succeeded by Frederic II. Very few of the inhabitants preserved their faith, and the number of clergymen were almost brought to nothing; the stragglers who lay hid in the country could seldom be discovered.

Somewhat more than a century later, an eminent Danish gentleman named Nicholas Stenon, who was born in Copenhagen in the year 1638, was famous in Italy for his knowledge, particularly in medicine and anatomy. He resided at the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the year 1670. His parents had been Lutherans, and he was himself educated in that sect, and imbibed the strongest prejudices against Catholics; but finding by his intercourse with them and his closer reading and observation, that his notions of their belief and practice were altogether erroneous, his prejudices yielded to his judgment, and he some time afterwards became a Roman Catholic. Christian V, successor of Frederic III, was then King of Denmark, and being zealous for the improvement of the college of Copenhagen, he insisted upon the return thither of Mr. Stenon, to fill the chair of anatomy, promising that he should be undisturbed on the score of religion. Mr. Stenon went thither, but soon found that public prejudice was more powerful

than the protection of a monarch. He returned into Italy, and, in the year 1677, he was consecrated Bishop of Titiopolis, *in partibus*, and appointed by Innocent XI Vicar Apostolic of the northwest of Europe. His principal residence was at Hamburg. He died at Schwerin, in Mecklenburg, on the 24th of November, 1686, after having effected much good. He paid as much attention as his means would admit or their wants acquired to the few Catholics that were still found in his native country, and it is only in the same way they have been as yet looked after, though their numbers are now greatly increased and the profession of their religion is in a large degree sanctioned.

The total population of Denmark is stated at present at 1,565,000 of whom the Catholics are upwards of 60,000, perhaps 65,000. But as the religion is now and has been of late making considerable progress, the number at present is much greater than formerly.

SWEDEN.

THIS large tract of country was but little known, and we believe thinly inhabited, at the commencement of the Christian era. All to the north of Germany was, we may say, undiscovered, certainly unexplored. It was not until the arms of Charlemagne had struck terror into the northern barbarians, that it was safe to go amongst them.

In my account of Denmark, I mentioned the elevation of St. Anscharius to the See of Bremen and to legatine authority. About the year 830 the King of Sweden sent to Louis Debonnaire for missionaries to preach Christianity amongst his subjects. St. Anscharius, then a monk at New Corbie, and Vitmar, another of the same house, were selected for that purpose, and had books and ornaments to present from the emperor to the king. Anscharius had been previously in Denmark, where he had planted the faith. On their voyage they were plundered by pirates, and arrived quite

destitute at Biorc, then the capital of Sweden, and the principal harbor and royal residence. Upsal was, at that time, a considerable city; but its site was much nearer to where Stockholm now is than to where the present city of Upsal is built. Biorc is described as being situated upon an island two days' sail from Upsal; and we suppose it must be that island which is now called Waxholm, at the mouth of Lake Melar. Being received kindly by the king, they preached with great success, and found a considerable number of Christian slaves, who were delighted at the opportunity of receiving the sacraments, of which they had long been deprived. Herigar, governor of the capital, an intimate friend of the monarch, was converted at an early period, and greatly aided their exertions.

Anscharius, when raised to the See of Bremen, about the year 850, sent missionaries to revive the spirit which had, during some years, slumbered in Sweden; and then, by his own presence, roused it to energy and activity. The good work was continued by his successor, St. Rembert.

Again, in or about the year 925, Hunni, Archbishop of Bremen, arriving at Birca, which we suppose to be the same as Biorc, found but one priest remaining in Sweden; during the short and bloody reigns of the monarchs in the preceding sixty years, religion had been nearly forgotten. He died during his apostolic labors in that country, and was succeeded in the archbishopric of Bremen by St. Adaldagus, who filled that see during fifty-four years, and greatly promoted the conversion of the Swedes, and established some sees amongst them. Odincar, the elder, a religious Dane, and his nephew, of the same name, Bishop of Ripa, in Jutland, and one of the royal race of Denmark, who was consecrated by Libentius, Archbishop of Bremen, about the year 1000, labored much also in the conversion of Sweden.

Nearly sixty years before the arrival of Bishop Odincar, *King* Olas Scobcong had requested the British King Edred *to procure* some missionaries for Sweden. Sigefride, a

eminent priest of York, in England, undertook the task; and on the 21st of June, 950, he arrived at Wexio, in the territory of Smaland, in Gothland. Twelve of the principal inhabitants of this district were his first converts. St. Sigefride had received episcopal consecration before his arrival in Sweden and ample missionary powers, by virtue of which he was enabled to erect new sees and to fill them. He erected the Sees of Lingkopping in West Gothland and Skara in East Gothland. He then appointed his nephew Uduman to take charge of his See of Wexio, and went farther north. He baptized King Olas and his household and his army, established the See of Strengues, and restored that of Upsal, which had been founded by St. Anscharius. During his absence from Wexio, the idolaters plundered the church, and murdered Uduman and his two brothers, Sunaman a deacon, and Wiamar a sub-deacon. St. Sigefride having returned to Wexio, prevailed on the king to spare the lives of the murderers, and refused to accept a fine which was levied upon them; and having re-established his church he died, and was buried in his cathedral in the year 1002.

The faith was propagated in another part of Sweden, soon after, by St. Eskill, an Englishman, who was consecrated Bishop of Nordhans Kogh, and martyred by the pagans at Strengis. Adelbert, Archbishop of Bremen, and Sweyn II, King of Denmark, did much in this century to extend the reign of truth in Sweden.

In the year 1148, St. Henry, an Englishman, who had labored strenuously on the Swedish and other northern missions, together with his countryman, Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear, apostolic legate, and afterwards Pope Adrian IV, did much to confirm and to establish the faith.

Upsal was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric during the incumbency of Stephen, its sixth bishop and first archbishop; and in 1160, Pope Alexander III created the archbishop of that see metropolitan and primate of the Swedish Church. We may, at this period, consider Sweden *as fully converted.*

In the year 1517 the persons commissioned by the Pope to preach up indulgences for the contribution towards building the Church of St. Peter's in Rome were guilty of great excesses and extortions in Sweden. Angus Arcemboldi, Legate of the North, was the chief commissioner there, and had the sanction of Stenon, administrator, claiming to be King of Sweden. In an interview with that ruler, the legate attempted to reconcile him to Gustavus Troil, Archbishop of Upsal; but Stenon gave him sufficient reasons to justify his distrust in Gustavus, and showed the probability of the prelate's holding an improper correspondence with Christian II of Denmark, well known by the appellation of the Nero of the North, and who wished to confirm his authority in Sweden. The Danish king having manifested his hostility, Stenon had the Primate of Upsal tried by the senate, and being convicted, he was deprived of his revenues and confined in a monastery. The prelate had privately made an appeal to Rome, in which he stated his case to be one of great hardship. Arcemboldi was instructed to demand his release and restitution. Stenon and the senate refused; upon which Leo X placed Sweden under an interdict, and excommunicated Stenon and the senate. The Archbishop of Lunden, in Holstein, and the Bishop of Odensea were charged with the execution; and Christian of Denmark, who hypocritically appeared to be still a Catholic, though in truth a Lutheran, was requested to aid them. Stenon now seized upon the money which had been collected for Arcemboldi, and a new excommunication followed; and Christian, who longed for the opportunity, entered Sweden at the head of his army. Stenon died fighting at the head of his troops. Christian got possession of the capital. The archbishop was released and reinstated in his revenues. The bloody Christian treacherously seized upon and put to death in one day, at an entertainment where all appeared to be peace and amity, *the principal* lords of Sweden. He then, at the instigation *of the* Primate of Upsal, required the two prelate commis-

sioners to investigate the proceedings under which the primate had been originally punished; but, as their proceedings were too slow, he of his own authority condemned and executed ninety-six senators who survived, and amongst whom were the Bishops of Strenignen and Skara. The prior of St. John of Jerusalem, who had manifested most patriotism, was fastened to a St. Andrew's Cross, embowelled, and his heart torn out. The bodies were then ranged in a line, and all the heads raised on spears; after which the soldiers were let loose upon the populace. Next day an amnesty was published, but violated as soon as the people made their appearance. Christian then invited to a conference six bishops who had refused to assist at his Swedish coronation; and they, imagining that peace was at length to be given, met him—they were seized upon and burned. This caused so general an insurrection that the tyrant fled. Having left Sweden, he made open profession of Lutheranism.

Olaus Petri had already introduced the novel doctrines amongst the Swedes. Gustavus, the Son of Eric Vasa, Duke of Gripsholm, had, after a variety of difficulties and extraordinary escapes, found, amongst the hardy miners of Dalecarlia, a patriotic spirit. He began the liberation of his country with his little band; his standard soon floated victorious and overshadowed multiplied thousands. Gustavus Ericson, or Vasa, was chosen king. He wanted money: Olaus informed him that, according to the Lutheran principles, it was lawful to take away what was possessed by the monasteries, and to reduce the income of the parish churches. Gustavus, who had, during his captivity in Denmark, been predisposed to this new system, began to pave the way for carrying it into execution, but met considerable opposition from the few bishops that still remained in Sweden; thenceforward, Gustavus encouraged the Lutheran preachers.

Pope Adrian VI sent, as his legate to Gustavus, John Magni, an eminent and highly informed Swedish ecclesiastic. *The king received him kindly, and prevailed upon him to*

accept the primacy which was now vacant, by the degradation and banishment of the late unprincipled incumbent. The new primate soon perceived the true object at which the king aimed, for it had been proposed to him to convoke a synod and to establish the Lutheran doctrine. The primate was not a man to betray his charge, but he saw he could not avert the storm; he, therefore, returned to Rome.

In the year 1527 the king assembled the senate at Upsal, and subsequently at Arosen; at which meeting he declared, that unless they abolished the religion and the supremacy of the Roman See, he would abdicate: and that the revenues of the State demanded the confiscation of the Churchlands and property. Though a considerable portion of the legislature was composed of Roman Catholics, they were awed into acquiescence to his demands. He left what he called liberty of conscience. The spirit of Dalecarlia was still unbroken; and this brave people, being all Roman Catholics, they took up arms to oppose the invasion of their rights of conscience and the plunder of the property consecrated to the support of their pastors, by him whom they had borne on their shoulders to victory and to a throne. Gustavus, after having subdued them, treated the Dalecarlians in the most severe and cruel manner, because they did not choose to change their religion.

In 1542 the king procured from the general assembly the nomination of his son Eric as his successor, and the regulation that the crown should be hereditary; he also caused them to swear to the maintenance of Lutheranism, without tolerating any other religion. He had previously ran through the provinces at the head of a large body of cavalry, extirpating Catholicity.

The Lutheranism which he established has, in its external appearance and discipline, more affinity to the Catholic religion than any other sort of the new system. There are *archbishops*, bishops, priests, and deacons; their liturgy very *much* resembles that of Rome, and they have confession

and absolution and penance, but the confession is not always private.

Eric XIV succeeded, upon the death of his father, Gustavus, in 1560, but his conduct was that of a madman. He was deposed in 1568 for a variety of cruelties, and his attempt at raising Catherine, one of his concubines, who had been a fruit-girl in Stockholm, to the dignity of queen.

His brother, John III, was chosen to succeed him. He was married to Catherine, of the Jaggelon family, daughter to Sigismund, King of Poland. This queen was a Roman Catholic, and her husband having made a profession of that faith, in presence of Father Possevin, a Jesuit, was desirous of having his dominions reconciled to the Holy See. For this purpose he sent Pontus de la Gardie to Rome with proposals of reunion; but the Swedish nobility gave their decided opposition to the measure, though many of the clergy had manifested their anxiety to co-operate with the king. The project was unsuccessful, but a number of priests gained admittance into Sweden, and were able to console and to administer to the scattered members of the Church who were in the country. The queen died, leaving only one son, Sigismund, who adhered to the religion of his parents, and obtained the crown of Poland; though he lost that of Sweden, on account of his religion, through the intrigues of his uncle, Charles IV, son of Gustavus, who procured the deposition of Sigismund, and his own appointment, under the title of Charles IX. He is mentioned in high terms of commendation by some of the early Protestant writers, for having, through religious zeal, supplanted his nephew and usurped his throne.

Christina succeeded her father, the renowned Gustavus Adolphus, the head of the Protestant League, upon his death in 1654, in the twenty-eighth year of her age. This extraordinary woman resigned her throne, and abjured the religion she had previously professed, embracing the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Hitherto, the renowned and learned daughter of the great Gustavus had been the object of

admiration and of eulogy, the pride of the north. But now, the most scrutinizing criticism pried into all her conduct, and doubts as to whether she were really a great woman began to be entertained; and it was stated, aye, seriously stated, that it was not because she believed in the truth of those doctrines, to profess which she renounced a throne, that she changed her religion, but because "the austere manners and narrow acquisitions of the Swedish clergy were not likely to have attached her to their opinions; and they certainly were little able to vie in her estimation with the splendid and courtly dignitaries of the Romish Church." But the historiographer, from whom we have made the quotation, has, in his zeal against the Romish religion, overlooked the fact, that the queen of Sweden, at the time of her conversion, had not an opportunity of seeing and conversing with those splendid and courtly dignitaries whom she subsequently met in the polished and literary circles of the South; for in Sweden there were then but a few obscure and indigent Catholic clergymen, who had renounced the pomp of the world and exposed themselves to affliction, that they might comfort a persecuted flock. It is true, the attainments of the Swedish Lutheran clergy were never great.

Christina traveled into France, Italy, and Germany, spending much of her time in Rome. Upon the death of Charles Gustavus X, the cousin of Christina, to whom she had resigned the throne, her finances being embarrassed, she in 1660 went into Sweden to obtain payments, but was very badly received by her former subjects. They refused her incomes, pulled down her chapel, and some Italian clergymen who accompanied her were insulted and exposed to imminent danger. The States required a repetition of her act of renunciation, before they would suffer her to receive her revenue; and she then bade a final adieu to her country, and died in Rome in 1689.

Charles XI, who succeeded his father, Charles X, was one of the most stern, arbitrary, and despotic monarchs. He

published an edict forbidding the exercise of any religion but that of Luther, in Sweden, about the year 1690. This caused great dissatisfaction, for at that period numbers of other sectaries were in several parts of his kingdom who disliked the Lutheran mode nearly as much as they did the Catholic religion.

The events of the last century in this country have nothing to do with the religious view which it is my object to give. In the year 1810 the then reigning monarch was forced to a resignation, and Bernadotte, who rose from the lowest ranks of the army to be a general officer and marshal in the revolutionary service of France, upon obtaining the throne changed his name and religion. He was crowned by the name of Charles John, and having abjured the Roman Catholic faith, he professed Lutheranism.

The present Swedish dominions contain nearly three millions of inhabitants, of which the principal portion are Lutherans. From the documents we have seen, we believe they may be estimated as follows:

Lutherans	2,250,000
Other Protestants	450,000
Roman Catholics	80,000
	2,780,000
Add to these the inhabitants of Lapland, who are mostly Pagans, estimated at	60,000
Total population	2,840,000

NORWAY.

NORWAY was part of Scandinavia. About seventy years before the Christian era, Odin or Wodan, a Scythian chieftain from the borders of the Palus Mœotis, came into Scandinavia and subdued the aborigines. His wife was Frigga or Freia, and the most valiant of his sons was Thor. Subsequently they were considered as the three principal deities of the

North; and as the Orkneys, the Shetland and Faroe Islands, together with Iceland and part of Scotland, came under their dominion, their mythology diffused itself through those regions. The Danes, who had possession of England, had, before their conversion to Christianity, the same doctrines and deities as the Norwegians. The Romans had introduced their mythology too into Britain, and the Saxons had a blending of the observances of the North and South, before their conversion.

The days of the week derived their appellations from the deities. Sunday was sacred to Apollo or the sun, Monday to Diana or the moon, Tuesday to Mars, amongst the Romans, but the Northerns took the liberty of changing the name to suit the appellation of that of their own favorite, Tsycne, one of the sons of Wodan; Mercury was dispossessed of his day, in order to leave room for Odin or Wodan, who thus got Wednesday; Jove was obliged to give up his day to the superior claims of Thor; and as the next day was sacred to Venus, this Grecian lady was forced to yield to the superior claims of Freia, the beauty of the North; but Saturn was permitted to retain quiet possession of his own day.

I have been led to this little digression from noticing the state of Norwegian mythology in the early days of Christianity. From what I have said, my readers must see that the faith was considerably spread in the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, in the ninth century. Persecution in one place has usually been the cause of its establishment in other places, especially in the first ages. Such was the case in Scandinavia.

About the year 915, Gourm, King of Denmark, was violent and inexorable in the persecution of the Christians in his dominions; his object was to extirpate the professors of the religion of our Lord. There were many martyrs, but many also fled, and carried with them the doctrines of *salvation*. Some of the fugitives going into Norway, first brought the light of faith into those darkened regions, and

warmed the hearts of a benumbed people into gratitude to heaven.

The missionaries sent by St. Adaldagus in this age also aided in the great work, in that part of Norway which borders upon Sweden, where they were more occupied.

Harald, King of Denmark, procured many missionaries for the North, a few of whom penetrated into Norway. After the martyrdom, his sovereign, who had raised the infidels in rebellion, was subdued by Eric in Sweden: and one of the consequences of an application to Eric by Poppo, Bishop of Sleswick, was the facility and encouragement afforded for following up the northern missions.

The state of Norway had been hitherto unsettled; but about the year 1020 the independence and integrity of the kingdom were established. Olaus or Olave, son of Harald Granscius, Prince of Westfold, in Norway, by his wife Asta, daughter of Gulbrand Kuta, the Governor of Gulbrand's Dale or Valley, sailed for England in the year 1013. Norway was then, and had been for some time, annoyed and partitioned by Sweno, King of Denmark, Olave Scot Konung, son of Eric, King of Sweden, and Eric, son of Hacon, Earl of Norway. At the time of leaving his country, Olave was a Christian, and formed the design of having Norway freed from the oppression of foreigners and the darkness of paganism. He assisted King Ethelred against the Danes, after the death of Sweno, and thus emancipated his countrymen from their oppression. He next waged war against Olaus Scot Konung, who had succeeded his father upon the throne of Sweden; and having obtained exemption of the Norwegian territory from the future aggressions and incursions of Sweden, he married the daughter of the Swedish monarch, who was also a Christian, and by a domestic regulation with the earl, he became monarch of Norway.

Previous to his leaving England he procured a number of zealous missionaries, whom he brought with him—one of them, Grimkele, was consecrated Bishop of Drontheim.

[illegible] of Norway were revised and amended, and civ[illegible] began to spread itself, together with Christianity, and [illegible] were also communicated to Iceland and the islands.

Olave is honored as a saint in the Church; his acts were those of a wise potentate and a man of pure religion. He used his utmost exertions to extirpate idolatry, but this so exasperated the adherents to paganism that they took up arms, and, being assisted by Canute of Denmark, they overcame him. Olaus took refuge with his father-in-law, who aided him with troops to recover his throne, but he was slain at Stickstadt, north of Drontheim, on the 29th of July, 1028.

After some commotions, Hackin, whom Canute made Viceroy of Norway, being drowned, and Sweno, the son of Canute, and shortly after his cousin Hackin, having fled from Norway, Harald, the brother of St. Olaus, persecuted the Christians and encouraged the pagans. Many suffered martyrdom under him; Adelbert, Archbishop of Bremen, finally prevailed on him to desist. But in 1035 Magnus, the son of Olave, being of age, was called out of Russia, where he had taken refuge, and placed upon the Norwegian throne. He rebuilt the Cathedral of Drontheim in such a style of magnificence as to be considered the pride of the North; it was dedicated under the invocation of his father, whose shrine was richly ornamented. This prince did much for the propagation of the faith.

Nicholas Breakspear, who was afterwards Pope Adrian IV, was, together with some others of his countrymen, employed upon the northern missions, particularly in Norway, of which he is often called the apostle, about the year 1140. Pope Eugenius III, in approbation of his zeal and success, created him Cardinal and Bishop of Alba; and in the next century St. Hyacinth, one of the first Dominican friars, preached in that country with great fruit, about a century after it had been the theatre of Cardinal *Breakspear*'s exertions.

I am not aware of any particular facts that accompanied *the* change of religion in Norway, in the sixteenth century

which would require special notice in such a summary as I give. Placed between Sweden, Denmark, and Scotland, where what was called "reformation" was carried on in a style of masterly severity, persecuting all who would not conform to the new tenets, and sometimes bowed under the yoke of Denmark, sometimes under that of Sweden, the Church of Norway was destroyed towards the middle of that century, and Lutheranism was upheld and protected. Some Catholics still were to be found in Norway, and some other descriptions of Protestants, but Lutheranism was and is the dominant sect.

ESTIMATE.

Lutherans	700,000
Other Protestants	200,000
Roman Catholics	30,000
Pagans	30,000
	960,000

Iceland was converted to the Catholic faith, principally in the thirteenth century, and the professors of that faith were persecuted into a conformity with the Norwegian and Danish changes, and left without Roman Catholic clergymen, in the commencement of the seventeenth century.

The Faroe Islands were converted earlier to the faith, and retained it longer than Iceland; we scarcely know how to characterize the religion of either at present. In both portions the number of Catholics is inconsiderable, not exceeding 5,000; the other sects calling themselves Christians, about 20,000, and pagans upwards of 20,000. Very little exertion is at present made to communicate instruction to these people.

RUSSIA.

I.

THIS vast country contains the principal portion of the ancient Sarmatia, Scythia, and part of what was Scandinavia. *The Tartars and Muscovites, in later times, were the chief occupants of these extensive territories*; and, in the inter-

mediate period, after the emigrations of the Goths and Vandals, the Sclavi, the Russi, the Hunni, the Turci, and various other tribes, extended themselves more or less through these undefined regions. Russia extends through Europe and Asia, and comprises a portion of America. I shall here confine myself to a very brief and general statement of the establishment of Christianity and its decay in European Russia.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, some knowledge of the Christian religion was obtained by the barbarous tribes above mentioned, from slaves whom they had taken from the civilized nations in some of their incursions, and from fugitives and adventurers from those nations. But very little progress was thus made; some persons, brought to a knowledge of the great mysteries of redemption, were baptized, principally by laymen.

In the beginning of the ninth century, Michael the Stammerer and his successor, Theophilus, iconoclasts and emperors of the East, persecuted the Catholics, especially the holy Patriarchs of Constantinople, Saints Nicephorus and Methodius. Theodora, the widow of Theophilus, administered during the minority of her son Michael III, whom she educated in the Roman Catholic faith. About the year 848, the Chazari, who were a tribe of Turci that had migrated from the banks of the Volga, the ancient Dra, sent a solemn embassy to the regent and her son, with a request to have some Christian missionaries procured for them. They were at that time governed by Chagans, or Chams, who had regal authority, and were but one of seven or eight tribes similarly circumstanced.

Theodora applied to St. Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who sent a number of clergymen under Cyril, a very learned priest, who was surnamed the Philosopher. Cyril's original name was Constantine. He was a native of Thessalonica, noted for his zeal and piety equally as for *his* learning. Having instructed the nation, baptized the Cham, and organized churches, he returned to Constantinople.

Accompanied by his brother, St. Methodius, St. Cyril afterwards preached the faith in several parts of what is now Turkey, and in part of the present Austrian dominions; but from his first mission under the authority of St. Ignatius, who held communion with and acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, the southern part of what is now Russia received the faith.

From Bulgaria, where the two brothers spread the light of the Gospel, it penetrated into the southwestern parts of the same empire, then held by the Sclavi, who had gone southwards.

In the year 892, Rurick, Sinens, and Tyuwor, three brothers, came by invitation from the Warengi, on the borders of the Baltic, and governed the Russi and Sclavonians in their vicinity. Rurick, being the survivor, was sole monarch. He fixed his residence near Lake Lagoda. His son Igor transferred his seat of government to Kiow. Olga, his wife, surviving him, and going to Constantinople, was instructed in the faith, and was there baptized. Though her son Suastoslas died an idolater, yet her grandson Wladimir the Great, embraced Christianity and was baptized; he married Anne, a Grecian princess, and built the city of Wladimiria. By his means the truths of the Gospel were made known in another portion of what is now the Russian empire.

The manner in which Olga, who is also called Helena, conducted herself in very delicate circumstances is worthy of notice. Her husband Ihor, or Igor, undertook an expedition against Constantinople, and having been repulsed by the generals of the Emperors Romanus and Constantine, was slain by the Dreulans upon his retreat; Olga, his widow, then a pagan, revenged his death, subdued the Dreulans, and governed her husband's dominions with great prudence. About the year 945, she being then in peace, went to Constantinople; was instructed and baptized by the name of Helena, leaving the government to her son Suastoslas. After her conversion she returned home, and died

in the year 970. Her son never embraced Christianity, but his son Wladimir, or, according to others, spelled Volodimir, became a Christian, and obtained in marriage Anne, the sister of the two associated brothers, the Emperors Basil and Constantine. Nicholas Chrysoberga, the Roman Catholic Patriarch of Constantinople, sent, in 977, a number of clergy under the authority of Michael, whom he appointed their superior, into this country, in which they established the faith and extended considerably the influence of the Gospel. The title of Volodimir was Duke of the Russi. In the year 1156 George, Duke of Russia, built Moscow; and it was only in the year 1552 that Iwan, or John II, took the title of Czar, or King of Muscovy.

That part of Poland which belongs to this empire owes its conversion principally to the zealous labors of St. Adalbert, or Albert, in the first instance.

Adalbert was born in Bohemia in the year 956, and was in baptism called Woytiach, which, in Sclavonian, signifies "Help of the Army." Being placed by his parents under the care of Adalbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, the greatest care was taken of his education, and the archbishop in confirmation gave him his own name. He was promoted to holy orders in 983 by Diethmar, Bishop of Prague, and in that same year was appointed successor to this same prelate, who died soon after his ordination. He was consecrated by the Archbishop of Mentz. Finding but little fruit from his preaching in Prague, he went to Rome and had his resignation accepted by Pope John XV in 989, and retired into a monastery; but in 994 the same Pope, at the solicitations of the Archbishop of Mentz, compelled him to resume his see, with a proviso, that if his exertions there should be fruitless, he might retire whither he would. Profiting by this clause, upon discovering the perfect inutility of his attempts to bring to practical religion a people who merely listened to and admired him, and were content with the bare and barren profession of the faith, he went to preach to the infidels of Poland and

Hungary, and was on terms of friendship with Stephen, king of the latter place, whom he had specially instructed.

Being again ordered by Pope Gregory V to return to Prague, he was refused admittance by Boleslas, Prince of Bohemia, and a number of his adherents, upon which he retired into Poland, where Miceslas was then duke, and whose son and principal counsellor, Boleslas, was a particular friend of Adalbert. This Bosleslas, succeeding in his wishes of having the people instructed, saw a vast accession to the Christian Church, through the labors of the holy bishop, who was martyred by a body of Prussian infidels, on the 23d of April, 997. Duke Miceslas sent ambassadors to Rome, but he died before their return in 999; he was succeeded by his son Boleslas I, surnamed Chabri or the Great, who became the first King of Poland.

Miceslas, his father, having in 965 embraced the faith upon his marriage with a Christian princess, daughter of Boleslas, Duke of Bohemia, and sister to him who opposed the return of St. Adalbert to Prague, caused the introduction of the Gospel into his dominions, and it was fully established under the auspices of the son.

Still further north was a people called Russi or Rutheni, who were some of the most northern European Scythians. They derived their pedigree from the ancient Roxolani mentioned by Strabo and Pliny, as beyond the Boristhynes, near the Gatæ. The word Rosscia in their language signifies scattering: and they were supposed to be denominated from living, not in towns or cities, but scattered over the country. Nations, similarly scattered, were by the Greeks called Spori, or scattered.

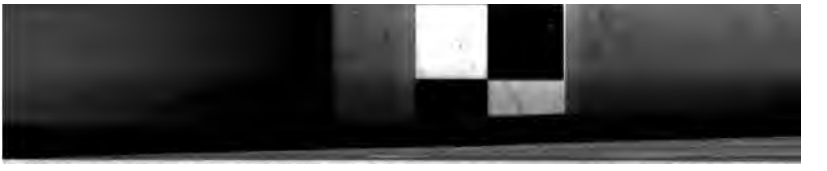
About the latter end of the tenth century, a young Saxon nobleman, named Boniface or Bruno, leaving the court of the Emperor Otho III, joined the Order of Camaldoli under St. Romuald, and after a long preparation by prayer and retirement and meditation, presented himself to Pope John XVIII, to preach to the infidels. Having received the necessary faculties, he was consecrated arch-

bishop of his mission by Taymont, Archbishop of Magdeburg. Passing through Prussia, he entered the territory of the Russi, where he made several converts, having endured much persecution and affliction; he baptized one of the kings of that place and several of his people. Soon after this, he was seized upon by the infidels and beheaded, together with eighteen of his companions, in the year 1009; but the faith continued to make considerable progress after his death.

Finland was principally converted by St. Henry, Archbishop of Upsal, in 1151.

In the next century, St. Hyacinth, of the Order of St. Dominic, a noble Silesian, of whom I have made mention before, extended the faith greatly in Poland. Subsequently passing into Lesser Russia, Moscovy, and the neighboring nations, he preached with great fruit until the destruction of Kiow by the Tartars, in 1231, when he returned into Poland, where he remained for some time, and then proceeded to join several other members of his order who were sent into Tartary. Thousands having embraced the faith, one of their princes, together with several lords of his nation, attended at the Council of Lateran in 1245. Having penetrated through Tartary nearly to Thibet and the East Indies, he founded in several places Christian churches. Thence coming back to Poland, he again entered Red Russia, where he made many additional converts, and returning to Cracow, died in 1257.

In the year 846, upon the death of St. Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople, St. Ignatius was raised to that dignity. The Emperor Michael III was led, by his favorite uncle Bardas, into the most shameful excesses of profligacy. The holy patriarch remonstrated with him, but in vain. Bardas was, for his criminal habits, driven from the sacraments and excommunicated. His rage led him to threaten to stab Ignatius, but he bethought himself of a less *revolting* mode of revenge. He persuaded the young *monarch* that his mother domineered over him and deprived

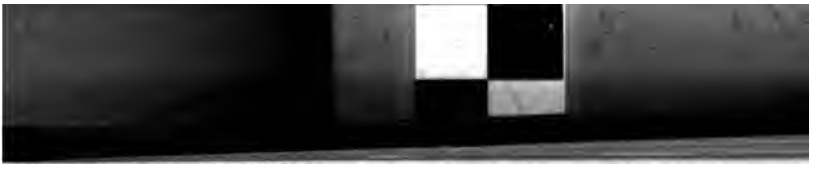


im of his just power—recommended that Ignatius should e ordered to cut off her hair and that of her three aughters, and have them placed in some monastery. The atriarch, of course, refused to perform so irreligious an ct of violence. Upon which, by the instigation of Bardas, Iichael had his minions to perform the acts of violence, nd Ignatius was banished to a monastery in the isle of erebinthus, where every effort was used to force him to resignation, which he refused. Photius, a very learned ut very profligate relative of the emperor, was ordained ishop, from being a layman in office at the court, and n the sixth day intruded into the patriarchal chair, on hristmas day, 858. A synod of bishops met in Constantnople, and excommunicated Photius, who also proceeded gainst them, not merely with a similar form, but by force arms and with the aid of Bardas. I do not here find necessary to dwell upon facts which shall hereafter be rticularized; suffice it to say, that after the unravelling much deceit, Photius was excommunicated by Rome, hich he had endeavored to deceive. In return, in the ar 866, by the aid of the emperor, he held a sort of uncil at Constantinople, in which he excommunicated and onounced sentence of deposition against Pope Nicholas, d thus commenced the Greek Schism. Bardas was put death in that year by the emperor for conspiring against s life; and in September of the next year, the emperor mself was slain by his guard, for attempting to depose asil, whom he had joined with him in the empire. Basil ceeded and banished Photius; Ignatius was restored and e schism healed, but its effects were not destroyed. Phoas, upon the death of Ignatius, in 878, took possession the Church of St. Sophia with an armed force, and tained from John VIII the appointment to the patrichate at the request of Basil, upon conditions which otius never fulfilled. The intruder was then condemned John, and by his successors Martin or Marinus, Adrian *I, and Stephen V.* After the death of Basil, his son

Leo the Wise, or the Philosopher, succeeded, who at the request of Pope Stephen banished Photius into a monastery in Armenia, where he died. The union was then perfect between the Popes and the Patriarchs of Constantinople during upwards of a century; but the schism under Michael Cerularius, in 1053, made a very considerable portion of the East separate from the centre of unity

The vicinity of Southern Russia to Constantinople, their union for so long a time with that metropolis, from which their forefathers had received the faith, and the similarity of their discipline, would appear to cause the Muscovites easily to be led into the separation. The contiguity of Kiow, the then capital of the Russians, to the city, caused more frequent communications between the dukes of Russia and the emperors of the East, so that the court and the principal ecclesiastics, having joined in the schism, it would be more generally adhered to.

This, however, was not the case, for we find strong and impregnable evidence of the Russian churches continuing Catholic during centuries, notwithstanding the unfounded assertions of many sectaries and Catholics to the contrary. I have already noticed that Vladimir, the son of Igor, was the duke who principally established the faith of Kiow and the rest of his dominions. His successor was Jaroslas, his son, who was succeeded in 1078 by Wsevolod I, his grandson, in whose reign Ephrem, Metropolitan of Kiow, executed the bull of Urban II for the feast of the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas, of Bari, on the 9th of May. His son, Andrew Bogoliski, transferred the ducal residence from Kiow to Wladimiria. In 1156 George, Duke of Russia, recovered Kiow, and built Moscow, so called from a monastery called Moskoi, which previously stood there, and had its name from Mus or Muisk men, that is, the seat or residence of select men. Under George II, Duke of Muscovy, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, many of the Russians were involved in the schism, but in 1244, they were formally reunited to the Holy See. His



on, Alexander, succeeded in 1246. He is honored as a aint in the Russian Church, and lived and died in the aith and communion of the Roman Catholic Church; he called St. Alexander Newski, or of Newa, from a great ictory he obtained over the Poles and Teutonic Knights a Livonia, on the banks of Newa, when he was Prince f Novogorod, in 1241; his death took place in 1262, at orodes. The Czar, Peter the Great, built a convent of asillian monks to his honor near St. Petersburg, and in 725, Catherine instituted the second order of Russian nighthood under his name. In 1304 Daniel, fourth son f Alexander, left by his father Duke of Moscow, after the eath of his three elder brothers, became ruler, and made Moscow the ducal residence. In 1415, during the reign of asil or Vasili II, Photius, Metropolitan of Russia, residing Kiow, joined in the Greek schism, and being deposed a that account by a council held at Novogrodek, he retired ito Great Russia, and there spread his poison. His suc- ssor in Kiow, Gregory, assisted at the Council of Con- ance. There were then and had been for some time in ussia seven archbishops and a proportionate number of shops.

The schism having made rapid progress, in the year 588 the Archbishop of Moscow was, by Jeremy, the schis- atical Patriarch of Constantinople, declared Patriarch of all ussia, and was recognized as such by the schismatical triarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, upon con- tion that he should be chosen by them. Most of the uscovites, thenceforward, were engaged in the schism, and ined several heresies thereto. But the archbishops of Kiow ll continued Catholic, as did almost all Polish Russia, hich, since the year 1600, has been under a metropolitan Kiow, archbishop of Ploses, and bishops of Presmilia, iceoria, and Leopold; but in 1686, Kiow being ceded to e Muscovites, they established a schismatical metropolitan erein—Photius and Jonas II being the only preceding *elates who were not* Catholics.

The first czar was Iwan, or John IV, in 1552. In the reign of Czar Michael Alexis Witz, Nicon, an ambitious and crafty man, was the schismatical patriarch; he told the czar that it was a useless and derogatory custom for the Patriarch of Muscovy to seek for confirmation from Constantinople or the other patriarchates; that he derived his power from the Holy Ghost, and ought not to seek it from man. The czar countenanced him, and he quickly increased the number of archbishops and bishops in the State. Having regulated Church affairs to his liking, he next assumed a right to guide the decisions of the senate, and to direct the czar in making peace or war, lest he might act against conscience, and insisted that he should decide upon the justice or injustice of the laws previous to their promulgation. The czar and the senate opposed his pretensions; he would not abate a particle—excommunicated several of the senate, and excited rebellion, in which much blood was shed. The czar finding the patriarch still unsubdued, assembled a council in 1667, paying the expenses of any bishop in or out of his dominions who would attend; it consisted of three patriarchs, twenty-seven archbishops, one hundred and ten bishops, and one hundred and fifty other Russian ecclesiastics.

This synod deposed the patriarch, ordering that he should be confined during the rest of his life in a convent and fed on bread and water:

That the czar and senate should have votes in the election of the patriarch, who should be amenable to their judgment:

That the Patriarch of Constantinople should have no right to the appellation of the head of the Russian Church, nor any authority therein, but such as the czar should think proper to bestow on him:

That no more property should be given or left to convents or churches; and that the patriarch should have no authority to erect new dioceses or establishments without the consent of the czar and the senate.

II.

In 1588, the great body of the Russian clergy and people joined in the Greek schism, and in 1667, they formed an independent establishment, of which, in fact, they made the czar and senate of the empire the head, and rejecting the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople, formally separated from him. The patriarchs of Moscow still had many quarrels with the court until the time of Peter the Great.

The descendants of Rurick, whom I have noticed before, as the founder of the race of dukes and czars, became extinct in Feoder or Theodore, in 1598. After some contention and confusion, Michael, of the family of Romanow, allied to the preceding czars, was chosen Great Duke of Muscovy, in 1613. His third descendant was Peter the Great, who founded the Russian empire. In the year 1700, the patriarchate became vacant, and after nineteen years, Peter, who had made some unsuccessful negotiations for a reunion with the See of Rome, declared himself head of the Russian Church, had an archbishop appointed for Moscow, and placed the Church government under a sort of committee, consisting of ecclesiastics and laymen — in which state it still continues.

There is a considerable division in the Russian Church, a large body who called themselves Sterawersi, or old faithful, having separated from the principal sect. This division has existed for a long time, but the formal separation was made in the patriarchate of Nicon. They were persecuted by the dominant party until Peter the Great established a limited freedom of conscience, tolerating every religion, but forbidding any persons to leave the Russian Church for the purpose of joining the Roman Catholic.

Lutheranism was introduced at an early period of the sixteenth century, particularly by the Swedes into Finland, which, until lately, belonged to them, and into the adjoining parts of Archangel and Novogorod. In 1559, William of *Furstenberg, Herr Meister* of Livonia, or Grand Master of

the Teutonic Knights, who then governed Livonia, having become a Lutheran, resigned his office in favor of Gotthard Kettler, who had been his coadjutor master. This man having also embraced the new doctrines, ceded a part of Livonia to the Danes, and the principal portion to Poland, receiving the investiture of the dukedoms of Courtland and Samagotia, as secular. The new doctrines spread from those places into Russia, so that Lutheranism made considerable progress in the northwestern part of that country. In the year 1581, Pope Gregory XIII wrote to the czar, John Vasilievitz, who was a Roman Catholic, to request he would send the Lutheran preachers out of his dominions; but the czar wrote back a refusal, stating that in his country all nations should have the free exercise of their several religions.

Many Calvanists subsequently found their way thither from the more southern regions of Europe, particularly through Poland and Germany, and in the time of Peter the Great, from Holland, and lately from Scotland.

The Armenians separated from the See of Rome, as well as those in its communion, are by no means a small number of the Christians of this country. The latter, of course, being members of the universal Catholic body, are to be ranked under their proper head. A very considerable portion of this body which was schismatic, and resided in Poland under a patriarch, was reunited to the Catholic Church, together with its patriarch, in 1616.

After the conquest of Greece by the Turks, and the establishment of Mahommedanism in the east of Europe, many of the Mussulmen settled in Russia, and, at present, the number in the European part of that empire is by no means inconsiderable.

By these several means, the Roman Catholic religion has been greatly reduced in this large empire, but still the numbers who have adhered to it are by no means few.

In the middle of the last century, the Jesuits, who had been frequently the object of gross misrepresentation and

unfounded calumny, were established in many places, to diffuse the light of science in this country. They had previously labored as missionaries, and been, to a certain degree, successful; but, when they were driven from the rest of Europe, they, in the dominions of Catherine, found an asylum. The great obstacle to their labors was principally the law which forbade any person to become a convert; yet many, notwithstanding this law, embraced the doctrines of the Church. In 1782, the number of Roman Catholics had greatly increased; and in the next year, at the request of the Empress Catherine II, Stanislaus Siestrzencewez was consecrated in Rome first Archbishop of Mohilow, and Primate of the Roman Catholic Church of Russia, on the Feast of St. Thomas, the Apostle, December 21. The patriarchate of Kiow has thus been superseded.

Upon the seizure of a considerable part of what once was Poland by the Empress of Russia, in the last century, a considerable accession was made to the Catholic population of the empire; and when those usurpations had received a character of permanence, there were some regulations of the See of Rome, to settle the jurisdictions of the bishops of Poland, etc., within such limits as would not interfere with the boundaries of those powers, to which they were severally subject.

In most places within the Russian dominions, as well in the Catholic as in the Russian Churches, the liturgy is in the Sclavonian dialect. This was established by St. Methodius, after the death of his brother Cyril, by the authority of Pope John VIII, in the year 879, which custom was confirmed by Pope Urban VIII, and his successor, Innocent X, about 1650; by the Synod of Zamoski, held in 1720, under Innocent XI, then by Pope Innocent XIII, and finally by Benedict XIV, in the Bullar. Const. 98, dat. an. 1744, and Const. *Ex pastorali munere*, 1754.

The Sclavonic is, probably, with the exception of the Arabic, the *most extensive* language extant. But its modern *dialects are as different* from the old mother tongue as any

modern language is from those which are now called
languages; and the liturgy in the Latin or Greek w
be equally intelligible to the congregation as in the to
which is used still by the discipline of the Roman Cat
Church, no particular portion thereof having authorit
change the language of its rite without either the ge
consent of the whole body or of its head, that is, the bis
of the universal Church or the Bishop of Rome. And
same reasons which cause the retention of the other ori
languages, Latin, Greek, Coptic, and Syriac, or Chal
which is the modern Hebrew, in the liturgies of se
other portions of the Roman Catholic Church, operate
equal force for retaining the old Sclavonic in Russia
in the other countries where it was originally adopted.

A breviary and missal of this tongue, which had
revised and corrected by Caraman, afterwards Archbi
of Jadra, he having been properly authorized, were pri
in Rome in 1741: according to the rules of a dictio
of that language, titled *Azbuguiderium*, i. e., A,b,c,der
The best grammar thereof was compiled by Smotrisk
Basilian monk, and printed at Wilna in 1619—repri
at Moscow in 1721.

Some of the Churches in Poland and Moravia, which
originally received the Latin liturgy, about the year 1
wished to use the Sclavonian liturgy; but upon the s
principle which causes the retention of the Sclavonian
those Churches where it was originally established, a sy
held at Spalatro, under John, Archbishop of Salona, expr
prohibited its introduction to those churches. Maynard,
Pope's legate in those parts, forbade its use in any pu
office, to those Churches and clergy who had previo
used the Latin tongue. These decisions were confirmed
Pope Alexander II; Pope Gregory VII, the successo
Alexander, renewed the decree, applying it to the Chur
in Germany, which were in like manner omitting
Latin and adopting the Sclavonian. Some ignorant woul
critics, who merely catch at the first glimpse of an ap

contradiction to form a judgment and to pronounce a condemnation, and some insidious men of ability who oppose the Catholic Church, quote these apparently conflicting decrees of several Popes, and similar ones, as proofs of the instability of Catholic doctrine, and triumphantly ask, "Is this Church infallible?" I really do not know how such men ought to be answered; for, in the first place, it would be necessary to give them either honesty or information, or both. Had they such qualifications, they would acknowledge, that so far from being conflicting, these decrees proceed upon the same principle, but applied variously, under different circumstances; and next, Roman Catholics do not claim infallibility for the Pope in everything; nor for the Church, except in doctrines of faith and morality; and these decrees do not regard either the doctrines of faith or the principles of morality, which are immutable; but the regulation of discipline, which might, at any moment, be changed by proper authority.

In Russia, some of the Churches have been planted by the missionaries from the East, and some by those from the West. Each portion had its peculiar ceremonies and forms of prayer, different from the other, though their doctrines of faith, their principles and morality, and their essential discipline, were exactly the same; those Churches, generally still retain, not only their original language, but also their original ceremonies and forms. Hence, amongst the Russian Catholics, great diversity of secondary discipline is observable. This has given rise to the assertions of some unskillful writers, who conclude that there must be a difference of belief, because there is a difference of external forms. As well might they conclude that Jansenists are Roman Catholics, because all the external forms are similar. As well might they conclude that the persons who frequent St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia are in the communion of the Roman Catholic Church, because the young man who officiates therein observes the same forms as are observed by duly authorized Roman Catholic priests.

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who is the centre of unity
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Hence, Russia exhibits in
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You find the Greek and L
Latin languages, and both i
and the Armenian and Syri
Roman Catholic Ch

of the Roman Catholic Churches; and during the last twenty or thirty years, nothwithstanding the difficulties to conversion created by the laws, the progress of Catholicity in this vast empire has been and continues to be steady and considerable.

From the documents which I have been able to collect and to compare, I believe the following estimate will be found a pretty accurate representation of the religious situation of the European portion of Russia:

Various divisions of the Russian established and other similar Churches, separated from the Holy See, about	20,000,000
Roman Catholics of various rites	9,000,000
Lutherans	3,000,000
Other Protestants	1,500,000
Mahometans	1,250,000
Pagans	3,500,000
Total population of European Russia	38,250,000

EUROPEAN TURKEY.

I.

WHAT a contrast does this country now exhibit to what it once was! How faded in its religious glories! How debased its morality! What a series of instructive events does its history contain! The research of the antiquarian, the imagination of the poet, the investigation of the philosopher, the classic taste of the scholar, the reflection of the legislator, may all here find abundant employment. Here, too, the fragments which have escaped the unsparing hand of time and the ravages of barbarism and avarice, still exhibit models for an age which boasts of its progress beyond those which have preceded it. Upon this soil liberty had its defenders. Themistocles and Miltiades and Leonidas are no more. Demosthenes has long been silent. The productions of Apelles are decayed, and where *are the men? They* have vanished from this world—they

have not such a motive, no
over these men; but our d
turning to account the oppo
And in contemplating the
which is the present Turkey
instructive lesson for the direc

The Apostle St. Paul app
Christian missionary in Greece,
Churches and established bisho

We read in chapter xvi o
that when St. Paul was at T
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thither and help them; on wh
Troas, and passing the Island
Neapolis, which was upon the
don—thence he went to Ph
Amphipolis, Apollonia, and Th
sent to Berœa, when he sailed t
in the Areopagus; subsequently
of Corinth.

receiving the Holy Eucharist, and states that upon his arrival he will make a regulation upon the subject (v. 34). He was at Corinth in the year 58, when he wrote his epistle to the Romans; and St. Augustine[1] informs us that it was then he made the regulation, that no person should receive the Holy Eucharist except fasting, unless in case of danger of death; which was immediately adopted as a general rule by the whole Church, and has continued unchanged to the present day. In the next year St. Paul left Greece—and the bishops whom he had established in the several churches zealously followed up his labors, and soon spread the light of the Gospel through that country.

Amongst the bishops who governed those Churches, the most remarkable in the first and second ages were St. Denis, the Areopagite, first Bishop of Athens, appointed and consecrated by St. Paul to that charge in the year 51; St. Denis, Bishop of Corinth in the time of Pope Soter, about the year 170; Publius, who was Bishop of Athens in the year 150; and his successor, Quadratus, who was one of the first apologists for the Christians, he having drawn up and sent one to the Emperor Adrian; Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, who had been converted to Christianity, also presented an apology for the Christians in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

Greece also gave many martyrs to the Church in the succeeding ages; but the blood of the martyrs only fertilized the soil of Christianity.

In the year 323, by the defeat of Licinius, Constantine the Great found himself at the head of the Roman Empire; and in that year, at Byzantium, in Thrace, he had determined to think of becoming a Christian. He had not been altogether uninstructed in its principles, having imbibed them from his holy mother, St. Helena. Upon his arrival at Byzantium, he was waited upon by a deputation of Pagan philosophers, who represented to him the great evils that would flow from innovation, and the folly of changing

[1] Ep. 118 ad. Jan.

from the faith of his fathers, and the possibility of serving God with a good heart under any system of religion. Alexander, the Bishop of Byzantium, was called before the emperor and asked if he could answer their arguments. The bishop requested one to be selected to speak for all; and after he had commenced his train of reasoning, Alexander stated that he was no great logician, but the servant of a God of might, who could instantly confound human pride, and commanded the philosopher, in the name of Jesus Christ, to be silent. He was struck dumb. Constantine immediately afterwards published edicts favorable to the Christians; and upon the site of Byzantium, he raised the city which, after himself, he called Constantinople, and which, from being the seat of the empire, was frequently called New Rome.

Arius, the author of an impious and blasphemous heresy in Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, came to Constantinople to try and make interest with the emperor. Alexander refused to receive him into communion or permit him to enter any of the churches of his diocese; but Arianism insinuated itself into Greece and caused much calamity. Sometimes the emperors and courtiers upheld the Arians and persecuted the Catholics. After the time of Constantine, the See of Constantinople was raised to the metropolitan dignity; it had been previously suffragan to the Archbishop of Heraclea, in Thrace. An attempt was made in the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, to elevate its rank above every other see, except Rome; and by the contrivance of the clergy of Constantinople and several of the suffragans and neighboring bishops, a canon to that effect was voted; it was the 28th; but St. Leo, who was then Pope, gave his sanction only to the first 27, thereby excluding that which was the 28th, and a number of other canons which were irregularly passed after the departure of the legates, Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybum, Lucentius, *Bishop* of Ascoli, and Boniface, a priest of Rome, who *presided* in the name of St. Leo, together with several

other prelates. St. Protarius, Patriarch of Alexandria, and the bishops of Egypt, together with a considerable portion of the Oriental prelates, also opposed this innovation; and for some time the bishops of Constantinople relinquished their pretentions.

In the year 553, the second general council of Constantinople was held, and a new attempt was made to raise that see to the patriarchal dignity and to extend its jurisdiction. This was scarcely resisted, and Constantinople thenceforward ranked next in dignity to Rome.

We have, in the history of the Greek Church, which may be said principally to consist in the history of the See of Constantinople, one of the strongest and most melancholy exhibitions of the fatal consequences of the domination of worldly power over the affairs of the Church; and in the exhibition of to-day, we have the confirmation of my assertion. If religion be made to depend for its support upon worldly means or the power of princes or States, it will become the sport of human folly and the prey of human passion. Constantinople was elevated to dignity by human power and worldly intrigue, and those same causes have also produced its degradation.

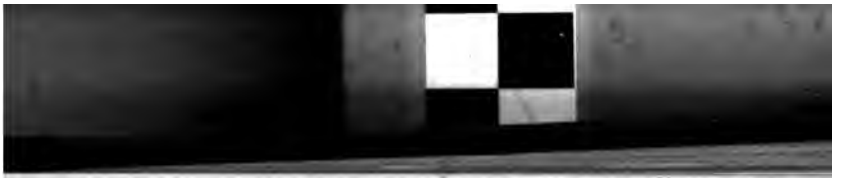
Before the death of Alexander, bishop of that see in 340, Paul, a native of Thesalonica, who had been a deacon of his church, was recommended by that prelate as his successor. He was regularly appointed and consecrated. But the Arian party were desirous of having one who would favor their views; and accordingly they raised up Maecdonius, one of their partisans, to be Paul's competitor. The Emperor Constantius banished Paul and Macedonius, and invited Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, to govern that see. Thus we perceive how soon worldly domination began to exhibit itself upon the profession of the faith by the emperors, and how quickly they found amongst the clergy willing instruments. Paul took refuge with St. Maximinus Bishop of Triers, in Gaul, whence he proceeded to Rome, for the purpose of laying his case before the Pope. Here

he found St. Athanasius, who had come for a like purpose, under similar circumstances, having been driven from his See of Alexandria, in Egypt, by the Arians also.

Pope Julius I was holding a synod, which was attended by eighty bishops; and after examining the cases of Athanasius and Paul, he restored them to their sees, and sent them back with letters of injunction to their flocks. Eusebius, however, kept forcible possession of the See of Constantinople until his death, about nine or ten months after. The Arians had gained considerable sway over Constantius, and again procured the banishment of Paul.

Hermogenes, his general, was ordered by Constantius, who was in Antioch upon his way to Thrace, to pass by Constantinople and to drive Paul out of the city. The people resisted the general, and he was slain. Constantius came to the city, pardoned the people, and banished the bishop. Paul, upon his own application and at the request of the Pope, received, in 344, letters from Constans, the Emperor of the West, to his brother Constantius, requesting he would suffer the bishop to remain in his see for the government of his Church. Thus, he was enabled to remain until 350, when, Constans dying, his enemies succeeded in procuring his banishment, and he was, in 351, strangled in prison in Cucusus, a small town in a most unhealthy situation in the deserts of Mount Taurus, upon the confines of Cappadocia and Armenia, having been previously left six days without food in his dungeon.

Philip, the prefect of the Pretorian band, was the officer commissioned to remove Paul from his see—and knowing the facility of exciting a tumult in Constantinople he, though an Arian, privately sent for Paul, and showed him the order for his banishment, requesting that, to preserve peace, he would quietly obey. Meantime a crowd had assembled outside the bath where the bishop and the prefect conversed. The bishop, seeing contention useless, consented—*and* the prefect caused a passage to be privately broken *through* the rear of the building, through which the bishop



escaped, and lay concealed in the palace until he was embarked for the place of his destiny.

Philip next proceeded to fulfill the other part of his commission, and took Macedonius in state to be installed in the Cathedral. The Catholics and the Novations united in their opposition, blocked up the passages, and refused to make way; the military were brought out, and upwards of three thousand persons were killed on both sides. The prefect conducted Macedonius into the church and placed him in possession of the episcopal throne. The intruder now turned his attention to annoy the Novatians, and finding they were pretty numerous in Paphlagonia he procured an order from the emperor to have four regiments sent to compel them to embrace Arianism. The Paphlagonians prepared for the contest, and the soldiers were nearly all slain.

Upon a subsequent occasion he was opposed by the people in an attempt to remove the body of Constantine from the Church of the Apostles to that of St. Acacius, which caused dreadful carnage in the churches. The emperor, at length, weary of the repetition of these scenes, undertook to depose him. Macedonius now hated the Arians equally as he did the Catholics. The former denied the divinity of the Son of God—the latter believed in the divinity of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Macedonius, in order to oppose both, asserted the divinity of the Son, and denied that of the Holy Ghost—thus forming a new sect, which, after him, were called Macedonians and Pneumatomachics, and other times Marathonians; the first name they derived from their founder—the second from the peculiarity of their doctrine, opposers of the Holy Ghost—the third from Marathon, Bishop of Nicomedia, who was a principal abettor of their errors, and without whose aid it is supposed the sect never would have been formed. This error spread principally through Thrace, along the shores of the Hellespont, and in Bithynia, and was condemned in the first *Council of Constantinople* in 381.

The perpetual interference of the emperors and their offi-

cers, who sometimes were Catholics, and sometimes members of some one of the various new heresies which were perpetually ravaging the Church of Constantinople, together with the restless spirit of its population, caused the greatest disorders and irregularities in this Church. St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory Nazianzen, two of the brightest ornaments of the Christian world, were bishops of this see, and suffered the greatest persecutions and afflictions for their attempts to preserve Church discipline.

At the Council in 381 the title of St. Gregory Nazianzen to the See of Constantinople was recognized; but, finding that he could not preserve the peace of the Church consistently with its discipline, he resigned, and was succeeded by Nectarius. The emperor wrote to the Pope, requesting that, for the sake of peace, he would confirm these acts.

II.

I have merely glanced at the prominent facts which the early history of this portion of the Church exhibits. We have seen, however, that Byzantium was an episcopal see, subject to the Archbishop of Heraclea, in Thrace, and that although this town was by Constantine enlarged and ornamented and raised to the dignity of a capital of the empire, this made no change in the bishop's title, until subsequently, after much exertion, first it was raised to be an archbishopric, then began to lay claim to the patriarchal dignity, not from any allegation of original divine right, but from the concession of some councils and the voluntary submission of some bishops. Still, however, in the year 381, this claim was not recognized by Rome nor generally admitted.

In the year 381 a provincial council was held in that city, at which St. Meletius, Patriarch of Antioch, presided, and during the celebration of which he died. He was held in such esteem for his sanctity that the people pressed round the dead body to touch it with linen, which they

terwards preserved as relics. The acts of this council ere afterwards received by the whole Church, and thus it s the authority, of a general council from its acceptation. The second canon of this council regulates the discipline jurisdiction and boundary, prohibiting the bishops from eating confusion by interfering in the concerns of other urches, and renews the decisions of the Council of Nice forming the provinces, stating that Alexandria should vern the province of Egypt; the eastern bishops should gulate their own discipline, paying due honor to the pri- acy of the Church of Antioch, according to the Nicene itutes; the bishops of Asia Minor should also regulate eir own discipline; those of Pontius that of their prov- ce, and the bishops of Thrace that of this province. his canon is found also in its proper place in the code canon law, 9 qu. 2 cap. Episcopi qui extra. The thirty- urth of the apostolic canons had previously made a sim- r enactment, so far only as regarded ordinations, under e penalty of deposition of the person ordaining and of ose ordained. The Greek copy of this canon of Con- ntinople has a paragraph which is not found in the Latin py, regulating, that "the Churches amongst the barbarians all be administered according to the custom of the fathers, hich has been preserved."

The canon of the Council of Nice principally referred is the sixth. The fifteenth and sixteenth have also a aring upon the case. Gratian quotes a canon of the uncil of Antioch, held in 341, under Julius I, to the me effect. (Episcopum non debere, cap. 9 quæst. 9; in ers, quæst. 2). This was the thirteenth canon of Antioch; d in the twenty-second of the same synod, the principle s applied to special cases. This Council of Antioch was from being general, and some of its canons were rejected; t the thirteenth and twenty-second are amongst those eived and confirmed, as having been founded upon the inciple of *the canon* of the general Council of Nice, and *firmed by the first* Council of Constantinople, which

became general by acceptation; and in the year 410 Pope Innocent I, who rejected some of the canons of this council and admitted others, received and confirmed the thirteenth and twenty-second. It was upheld by several other decisions during upwards of eleven hundred years; it was finally ratified by the Council of Trent, when that council remodelled the discipline, and repealed a considerable portion of the canons of the preceding ages. In the sixth session, held on the 13th of January, 1547, the fifth canon of reformation, which was the last canon of that session, re-enacts and confirms the principle of the second canon of the first Council of Constantinople, with a penalty nearly similar to that of the thirty-fourth apostolic canon, and the editor quotes as precedents those two canons, together with those of Nice and Antioch; the thirteenth of the second Council of Arles, about 442; the third and nineteenth canons of the Council of Sardica, in the year 347, under the famous Osius, Bishop of Cordova; and the fifteenth canon of the third Council of Orleans, held in 538.

There was, however, a special object in passing this second canon at Constantinople, which was only exhibited by the production of the third canon. Thrace having been now made a province, and placed upon an equality with Egypt and the province of Antioch, there having been also a number of new provinces created, which were not previously known, the next regulation should concern their rank. In Nice, the only patriarchates recognized were Antioch, which had formerly been the See of Peter, and Alexandria, which was the see of his disciple, St. Mark. Other provinces of minor note were referred to, without being named; but now we find not only Antioch and Alexandria, but also Asia Minor, Pontus, and Thrace.

The third canon then proceeds to give Constantinople the first rank amongst those, and enacts: "Let the Bishop of Constantinople have the first place of honor after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is New Rome."

This canon was not approved of by the Pope, nor was

it accepted together with the other canons in the West, nor in Egypt, though it was partially received in Syria and in Asia Minor. The patriarchate of Antioch did not comprehend Thrace. That country was in the western patriarchate, which, upon two grounds, therefore, required the assent of the Bishop of Rome, for any change in territorial jurisdiction or precedence, first as patriarch of that special district, and next as head of the whole Church. Yet, though it was not ratified by him, it was acted upon voluntarily by those who enacted it; and we find also the second canon violated almost immediately, for the Bishop of Constantinople not only governed Thrace, but interfered in Pontus and Asia Minor, and part of Antioch; and the emperors who were anxious to add as much as possible to the splendor of the new imperial city, gave their countenance and support to the usurpation; but to this day the consequences of endeavoring to create and uphold spiritual power by such means, have destroyed religion in this miserable Church.

About this time, the errors of Apollinaris, Bishop of Laodicea, made some progress in the Churches of Greece. The principle of his error was found in the doctrines of Pythagorean philosophy. The reputed sage had taught that man had two souls, the rational and the sensitive, the one a pure spirit which possessed the higher powers of our nature, the other a nondescript substance, which was the receptacle of sensation and the seat of passion. Apollinaris taught that Christ had the sensitive soul, but not the rational soul, the existence of which he contended would be useless in consequence of the union of the divinity. St. Gregory Nazianzen, who had abdicated the See of Constantinople, which was now governed by Nectarius, opposed this error in the East, and St. Ambrose, of Milan, wrote against it in the West, and St. Anathasius in Africa.

The successor of Nectarius was St. John Chrysostom. This holy man used all the influence of his zeal, his eloquence, and his piety, to restore the discipline of the

Church, but the power of the court was too strong, and his efforts were unavailing. The Empress Eudoxia always found a sufficient number of the clergy ready to aid her in her projects of persecution against a prelate who was alike unmoved by the threats of power or the blandishments of luxury. He was frequently banished for the discharge of duty and as often recalled. On Easter eve, A. D. 404, four hundred soldiers attacked the faithful, who followed him to a private chapel, where he was baptizing the catechumens, as he could not consistently with the principles of the Church go into the cathedral. Vast numbers were slain, the baptismal fonts filled with blood, the very Eucharist trampled under foot by savages who called themselves Catholics. The holy bishop ended his days in exile, from the hardships he endured on his transportation to Armenia, in the month of September, 407.

Arsacius, brother to Nectarius, the former prelate, was intruded upon the Church, but Pope Innocent I refused to recognize or receive him into communion, and he was supported by the court. This was the first schism between the Latin and Greek Churches. Fourteen months after this, Atticus, an Armenian monk, was promoted to this see, and was received into communion upon his erasing from the dypties of his Church the name of Arsacius, and substituting that of John Chrysostom, which the usurper had erased. The Church of Alexandria had the misfortune to have at its head, previously to this, Theophilus, the worst enemy of St. John Chrysostom; he was succeeded by his nephew, Cyril, who made a similar change in the dypties of Alexandria to that which Atticus made in those of Constantinople. Atticus was succeeded by Sisinnius; and after his death, Nestorius was brought thither from Antioch, in 428.

III.

Scarcely was Nestorius fixed in his see when he began to introduce erroneous doctrines which he had imbibed from Theodore of Mopsuestia. He taught in his cathedral

that Christ had two persons as he had two natures, and therefore, that the expression which was usual amongst Christians when speaking of the blessed Virgin was incorrect—that they should not style her Mother of God, because she was only mother of the human person, but not of the divine person. The people rose up instantly and interrupted him in the midst of his discourse, stating that he was changing their doctrines, and that if an angel from heaven were to preach a different doctrine from what they had received from Jesus Christ through the Apostles and their successors, they could not receive it, for they were bound to believe the revelations of God, and it would be impiety to believe doctrines contradictory to what Jesus Christ delivered.

Theodore of Mopsuestia fell into his error by too violently opposing Apollinaris. Nestorius carried the false principles of Theodore to farther results than his teacher, and thus in their consequences proved their falsehood. Besides endeavoring to abolish the expression respecting the Blessed Virgin, which had been always known in the Church, Nestorius tried also to banish other phrases equally consecrated by truth and usage, and which the pagans cited as proofs of the folly of Christianity: "A God has died," "God has suffered." Nestorius stated that those expressions arose from a mistake of the doctrine, but his flock contended that their belief was correct and his doctrine a novelty.

The new archbishop was in high favor at court and immediately procured the aid of the civil and military power for his support, but the people would not change their faith. As every error will necessarily create opposition, and that opposition create noise and tumult, not only was this wretched Church now torn into factions, but these also communicated their feelings and opinions to their neighbors, so that all Greece and a considerable portion of Asia and Egypt became embroiled. St. Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria, having been consulted by some of the monks of his district, decided that the Archbishop of Constantinople

had erred. Nestorius had the decision of Cyril answered by Photius, to which Cyril replied, and now the contest was violent.

Acacius, Bishop of Berea, and John, Patriarch of Antioch, condemned Nestorius, but were of opinion that Cyril was too violent. Cyril and Nestorius had both written to Pope Celestin, who held a provincial council at Rome, in which Nestorianism was condemned, as it was also in a provincial council held by Cyril in Egypt. Nestorius retorted its own anathemas upon the synod of Alexandria, and appealed to a general council. This general council was held at Ephesus in 431, and Nestorius was condemned there; after which, the more strongly to mark their faith, the Catholics took every occasion of using the very phrases which Nestorius strove to abolish—"Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death," etc. Nestorius, having been deposed, retired to a monastery, but did not embrace the true faith. The Emperor Theodosius the younger prohibited the assemblies of the Nestorians, and banished numbers of them, who went principally to Persia and Syria.

This same Theodosius had the relics of St. John Chrysostom brought with great pomp from the East to Constantinople, in the time of Proclus, the successor of Nestorius. Flavian succeeded Proclus, and in his time another heresy originated in this city. Eutyches, the archimandrite or abbot of a monastery near Constantinople, was its author.

The rage of opposition to Nestorianism was such amongst this speculative and hot-headed people, that it was easy to lead them to the other extreme. Nothing was wanted but a leader, and Eutyches was fitted for that post. Austere and mortified, his appearance of sanctity, together with the situation which he held, gave him weight with the multitude, who were greatly taken with the vehemence of his declamations against Nestorianism. He was more headstrong *and* obstinate than intelligent or well informed, and he was *held* in some estimation at court. His spirit had also

something of a disposition to persecute, and he is looked upon as a promoter of the severities inflicted upon the Nestorians.

Eutyches inveighed against the impiety of those who dared to say that in Jesus Christ there were two persons, when there were not even two natures; for although the Son of God assumed our nature, in Him it was destroyed. It was no longer human nature after the personal union; Jesus Christ had then but one person and one nature. The Nestorian denied that Christ was one person possessing two natures. Eutyches denied that Christ had two natures in one person. The Catholic Church has always taught that in Christ there are two natures, the divine and human, united in one person. The errors of Eutyches were spread through several monasteries, and found their way into Egypt and the East. Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylea, who had been one of the earliest opponents of Nestorius, was also one of the first to detect the error of Eutyches. Finding his remonstrances with the archimandrite unavailing, he presented a formal complaint for heresy, without specifying the tenets against him, to Flavian, who then presided in a synod at Constantinople, which was held to regulate a dispute between the metropolitan of Lydia and two of his suffragans.

The abbot was summoned to attend, but feigned several excuses, and had it privately whispered through the monasteries that Flavian was a tyrant, who would not admit him to communion unless he signed a paper which he did not understand. Being obliged to appear before the synod, he was convicted; but availing himself of his credit at court, he obtained through the emperor an order for a council at Ephesus. Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria, assumed the presidency. Together with a small party which was attached to Eutyches, he disregarded the authority of the papal legates who came to preside, deposed Flavian and those who had suspended and condemned the archmandrite. Him they restored, and then finding the majority of bishops to be

opposed to their acts, Dioscorus introduced the army, which was at his command. The orthodox bishops protested against this violence, but the opposite party cried out to put down their opponents. Flavian was trodden to such a state as soon produced his death, and others with difficulty escaped. None of the acts of this horrid assembly have been received by the Church. Pope St. Leo condemned this synod, and did all he could to prevail on Theodosius to suffer a proper council to assemble, but he would not consent. The Pope saw it would be useless to convoke it in opposition to the wishes of the emperor; but Theodosius soon dying, Marcian, his successor, afforded every facility, and a general council was held at Chalcedon, in which Eutyches was condemned, in the year 451. This was the fourth general council. Dioscorus was deposed and banished.

Anatolius contrived to get into the See of Constantinople, after the death of Flavian; and his ambition urged him in the Council of Chalcedon to attempt elevating the rank of Constantinople. Favored by the court and a considerable number of the bishops, a resolution was obtained in one of the sessions, after the regular business had been disposed of, by which resolution it was agreed, "That since the Church of Constantinople has the honor equally with Rome of being an imperial city and the seat of a senate, it ought to enjoy equal privilege and dignity with the Church of Rome, and therefore the provinces of Pontus and Asia and Thrace ought to belong to its jurisdiction, and be subject to the Bishop of Constantinople, and that their metropolitans should thenceforward be consecrated at Constantinople."

But when this was read in presence of the legates they immediately rejected and condemned it, stating that their instructions from the Pope upon the subject were clear and definite.

The Fathers who had agreed to it were further prevailed upon to write to the Pope, requesting he would

confirm what his legates had refused to sanction, and their own words will exhibit the influence which was employed. After stating their condemnation of Eutyches in conformity with the wishes of the Pope, and concurring with his legates, they continue: "We have thought fit to regulate some points of discipline, for the peace and welfare of the Church, in giving to the Bishop of Constantinople the next rank after Rome, but your legates have opposed it—though we have only in this confirmed the judgment of the one hundred and fifty bishops assembled in Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius the Great, which bishops decreed also that the Bishop of Constantinople should have privilege next after your Holy See. In opposing it, we suppose your legates were only moved by the desire of leaving to you the honor of doing personally this act, which is to insure the peace of the Church. In our decree we have been influenced by the wish of the emperor, the desire of the senate, and the request of the whole imperial city. By your confirmation you will insure the everlasting gratitude and strict adherence of the See of Constantinople. And as the credit of the good actions of children redound to the glory of their father, we pray you to honor our decrees by your judgment; and as we, your children, have joined in your judgment of faith, so you, our head, may in return concur in the regulation which we have originated as productive of great good. By so doing, you will also highly gratify the emperor and the imperial city."

St. Leo refused his sanction, and wrote to the emperor and to his religious empress and to the Archbishop of Constantinople, expostulating with them and giving the reasons for his refusal, stating, amongst others, that the civil dignity of a city was no ground for its ecclesiastical pre-eminence. It may also be remarked, that in this council there was no Patriarch of Alexandria to make opposition, for in the *very first* session Dioscorus had been deposed. *Juvenal of Jerusalem* held but an honorary distinction void

of jurisdiction, and Maximus of Antioch did not appear to interest himself; for by giving Pontus and Asia proper to Constantinople, together with Thrace, there was no encroachment upon his jurisdiction, as it did not extend north of Mount Taurus and the river Tigris. But the bishops of the province of Ephesus strongly opposed it. Another remark which should be made here is, that even at this period Greece proper, which is the ancient Peloponnesus and Achaia, together with Macedonia, Epirus, and Illyricum, were not in the patriarchate formed or intended to be formed for Constantinople, but were in the western patriarchate, of which Thrace was originally a portion.

Though the canons by which it was hitherto attempted to raise Constantinople were thus rendered invalid, still they were not inoperative. The ambition of the emperors and their courtiers, and sometimes the ambition and sometimes the weakness of the archbishops of the new imperial city, joined to the submission of the bishops of the new division, gave virtually an efficacy to the regulation. Anatolius exercised the power by the consent sometimes of those over whom he claimed jurisdiction, and at other times aided by the civil power he compelled submission. This introduction of the civil power to cause the execution of ecclesiastical decrees has been the ruin of Church discipline, and has laid the foundation of the intermeddling of kings and emperors with Church concerns, and has been productive, upon the whole, of incalculable mischief.

After the death of Anatolius, Gennadius, a good and pious bishop, governed the Church of Constantinople during a few years, and upon his death, in 471, Acacius, a bishop of a very different character, occupied his place.

The Emperor Marcian died in 457, and was succeeded by Leo Marcelles, who reigned until 474, when he was succeeded by Zeno the Isaurian, who filled the throne until 491, with the exception of the period that Basiliscus tyrannized in Constantinople, during the temporary abdication of Zeno and his flight into Isauria.

During that period the dreadful effects of this new interference in ecclesiastical concerns exhibited themselves. When the Christians were persecuted by the emperors, religion was preserved pure and uncontaminated; but when the emperors became the protectors of the Church, and the union of Church and State was formed, bishops became courtiers, and the episcopacy was now in a place of less trouble, less danger, less privation, more honor, more wealth, and more influence. Courtiers regulated Church affairs by the principles of human policy, and the Church was agitated by the concussions of the State. The ignorance of Leo, the vacillating tyranny of Basiliscus, and the officious interference of Zeno, under the guidance of the wily Acacius, threw everything into confusion; there was scarcely a see in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, whose bishop was not exiled or deposed by one or other of those three rulers; and persecution for difference of faith began to be formally introduced into Christianity.

Leo was orthodox, but ignorant; Zeno cared nothing for religion, and plundered his subjects, whilst the barbarians ravaged his provinces with impunity. He having fled to avoid the rage of the people, Basiliscus, brother-in-law to Leo, usurped the throne. He wished to make a party, and finding many Eutychians to whom he was attached, he condemned the Council of Chalcedon, and banished and deposed several bishops who refused to sign his act of condemnation. After two years, upon the return of Zeno, he was sent by him into Cappadocia, where he and his wife and children were put into a castle, the apertures of which were built up, and the unhappy inmates left there to starve. Zeno undid all that Basiliscus had done, and deposed those whom he had favored. But the Catholics and Eutychians had now come to violent opposition. To try and reconcile both parties, Acacius recommended to the emperor to publish an edict, in which the exposition of the Catholic faith concerning the incarnation was accurately given; but to *gratify the Eutychians*, no mention was made of the Council

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taken off the dyptics of Constantinople, and that of Felix to be inserted. Euphemius refused to comply with the first part, but willingly offered to comply with the second part of the requisition. Gelasius, therefore, refused him communion, and the schism continued. Meantime Zeno was succeeded in the empire by Anastatius I, who at first punished all the parties, but subsequently attaching himself to the Eutychians, he deposed and banished Euphemius, and had Macedonius substituted for him by some bishops, whom he procured for the purpose. The schism continued under Macedonius, though his faith was orthodox. Anastatius soon found means, as he had inclination, and deposed and banished Macedonius, as also Flavian of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem, for holding to the Council of Chalcedon. St. Sabas the Abbot and other holy men remonstrated with the emperor, who desisted a little from his persecution, and a profession of faith and petition for communion was sent to Pope Symmachus by most of the Churches, stating that they thought it hard to be punished for the fault of Acacius. The Pope answered that the profession was orthodox, but that they should acknowledge also the propriety of the condemnation of him whose crime they acknowledged.

Meantime Vitalian, a Scythian, raising a vast body of troops, under pretence of defending the Catholic faith, overran Scythia and Mysia, penetrated through Thrace, and laid siege to Constantinople. The emperor promised to reunite himself to Rome, and the troops withdrew. He applied to Pope Hormisdas, who required the same conditions as his predecessors had. The emperor refused, but many of the bishops and monasteries acceded and were reconciled. St. Sabas and a number of other holy men again applied to the emperor, and he appeared to relent, but still delayed. He died in the year 518, in the 88th year of his age, and was succeeded by Justinus I; and in the year 519, through the latter's intervention, the names of Acacius and Flavita, Euphemius and Macedonius were taken off the dyptics, the faith of Chalcedon restored, and an end put to the schism.

IV.

After the reconciliation with Rome in 519, there was a considerable calm in the Church of Constantinople. The Emperor Justin I dying in 527, was succeeded by Justinian I, his nephew, whose wife Theodora was a Eutychian. This emperor had a religious turn and a great propensity for legislation, the union of both which qualities in a person possessed of his authority made him a torment to the Church. He was at the commencement of his reign a Roman Catholic, and not only religious but austere and mortified. He devoted very little time to his meals and to sleep. He frequently fasted two days upon one poor meal of wild herbs and other vegetables. He soon began the career of theologian and ecclesiastical legislator. He is the first prince that we find usurping this power; but his earliest edicts, though regarding ecclesiastical persons, had more the appearance of civil than of ecclesiastical legislation; on which account the usurpation did not wear so obnoxious an aspect as to require strenuous opposition, especially in the unsettled state of that portion of the Church. Besides, the object of the edicts was evidently good and necessary, and the execution of the law was committed to the patriarch, and through him to the metropolitans. He also published a profession of faith, which contained the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and on this account was pretty generally subscribed. He manifested great zeal for the conversion of heretics and infidels, and brought many to the external profession of the faith, though most persons agree that he made more hypocrites than converts; and indeed the means which he used, viz.: rewards and punishments, were better calculated to produce hypocrisy than conviction. Some persons go so far as to say that he had an interest in those persecutions, for that he put into his private coffers the proceeds of the confiscations to which he subjected the *obstinate*.

The Eutychians having caused great trouble at Alexandria

in Egypt, and even made a schism amongst the Catholics, the emperor had a conference between six Catholic and six schismatical bishops in his palace, the result of which was the reconciliation of one of the schismatical prelates and some of the clergy and the exasperation of the others. Justinian drew up a formulary of faith anew, and sent it to the Pope, John I, a successor of Hormisdas, requesting him, as "the head of all the bishops," to confirm it. This form contained a clear exposition of the true faith, and was approved of by the Pope in 529, and subscribed by most of the Oriental bishops.

Justinian was desirous of reducing the laws of the empire into a better form than they were in, and for that purpose employed some of the ablest lawyers and chief officers of his time.

In 529, he published "the Code," so called as being the book which contained the select constitutions of the preceding emperors and his own, which he wished to preserve in force; and in 534, a more correct and improved selection was set forth. In 533 the best decisions of the lawyers upon cases under those constitutions were published under the title of Digests, or Pandects, and this was immediately followed by four books of Institutes, or introduction to the study and application of this law and those decisions. There was an appendix called Novellæ, which principally consisted of ecclesiastical laws compiled in like manner, and of several laws of his own modern enactment. The entire of this forms what is called the Civil or Justinian Code. Many of the ecclesiastical regulations were never received by the Church, and several that were received have been subsequently annulled by contrary usage, by disuse, or by repeal, or by the enactments of canons which are inconsistent with the entries of the Novellæ. Such as were of force at any time received their authority not from the enactment of Justinian, but from the acceptation of the Church. One of the principal topics in this appendix regarded the appointment of bishops. Some of the Eastern

Churches received the discipline there laid down, but very few in the West acted on it.

The discipline in the Western Churches was principally founded upon the canons of the Apostles, the canons of the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, which were general, and of the provincial councils of Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, in Asia Minor, held in 314; Gangres, the capital of Paphlagonia, held in 470; Neocesarea, in Cappadocia, now called Tocat, held about the year 315; three Councils of Antioch, in Syria, in 265, 359, and 452; Laodicea, in Phrygia, in the time of Pope Damasus, and some others, found in the collection of Dionysius the Little, a Scythian monk, who became a priest of the Church of Rome, of eminent piety and literary ability, and who, in 520, published the first collection of canon law, to which, a few years afterwards, he added the Decretals of the Popes Siricius, Innocent I, Zozimus, Boniface I, Celestin I, Leo the Great, Gelasius I, and Anastasius II. This same Dionysius was an excellent arithmetician and astronomer; he renewed the computation of the cycle, that of Cyril having nearly expired; and substituted the computation by the Christian era for that of consulate and other modes of keeping account. Many persons are of opinion, however, that he fell into a mistake, which has never been corrected, of four years in the assignment of the exact period of the Incarnatio

Another remark is also necessary upon the Novellæ, and indeed upon the whole Justinian code. I have before noticed the conduct of Justinian in compelling persons to profess a faith to which they were not attached. This had produced many bad results, amongst which that now adverted to was not trivial. Tribonian, a heathen, who pretended to be a Christian, was questor, which office is nearly the same as a judge in equity. This man, who was one of the best lawyers of the age, was by no means as upright *as he* was learned. Procopius and Suidas accuse him of having been excessively corrupt and venal. He was one

of the chief compilers of the Pandects and editors of the Novellæ, and frequently exhibited in them how little he was influenced by the principles of that religion which his interest obliged him to profess against his conviction.

I have stated before that the Empress Theodora was a Eutychian. But like all heresies, the Eutychian was now divided into several minor sects, a considerable one of which was called that of the Acephalists; they were obstinate opponents of the Council of Chalcedon. To this sect the empress specially attached herself. Upon the death of Epiphanius the patriarch, in 535, she contrived to have Anthimus, who was a member of this sect, raised to the See of Constantinople from the See of Trebisond, which he had previously filled.

St. Agepetus, who had succeeded John II in the See of Rome, was consecrated on the 4th of May, 535, and at the request of Theodotus, King of the Goths in Italy, went to Constantinople for the purpose of endeavoring to dissuade Justinian from sending an expedition to recover Italy. In this he failed; but the Catholics of the imperial city accused their patriarch of heresy. Agapetus refused to receive Anthimus into communion, unless he subscribed the decrees of Chalcedon, and complained of the irregularity of his translation from Trebisond. The emperor and empress used their influence in vain with the Pope to allow the translation to stand valid. Anthimus returned to his former see, and the Pope consecrated Mennas patriarch of the imperial city, and excommunicated Anthimus, unless he would subscribe the decrees of Chalcedon. This created for the Pope the enmity of the empress and all her adherents. Agapetus died at Constantinople on April 18, A. D., 536, and his body was brought to Rome for interment.

Upon the death of St. Agapetus, Silverius, son of Pope Hormisdas, who had been married previous to his ordination, was consecrated on the 8th of June, 536. Belisarius, the general of Justinian, having made himself master of Sicily in *535, took Naples in* 536; and marching toward Rome,

that city was, at the request of Pope Silverius, delivered up to him. The empress looked upon this as a good opportunity of promoting her views; wrote to the Pope, requiring him either to acknowledge Anthimus Bishop of Constantinople, or to proceed to that city and examine his cause. Upon the receipt of the letter Silverius remarked that the packet would cost him his life. He wrote back that he could not betray the cause of the Catholic faith.

At this time Vigilius, one of the archdeacons of the Roman Church, who had accompanied the late Pope, was still at Constantinople. The empress promised to have him made Pope, as Rome was now in her power, and to bestow upon him a large sum of money, provided he would condemn the Council of Chalcedon, and restore to communion Anthimus, who was to be reinstated in Constantinople, and Severus and Theodosius, the Eutychian patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria. The conditions were acceded to, and Vigilius set off for Rome, with a letter to Belisarius, commanding him to banish Silverius and have Vigilius placed in his stead. Constantinople had long felt the evils of a connection with the State; and the melancholy review which I have already made shows but too evidently the terrible effects of this unnatural and demoralizing association. This was the first attempt upon the See of Rome by the same agents.

Belisarius showed great reluctance to execute this commission; but his wife, Antonina, who was a confidant and favorite of the empress, had an undue ascendancy over him and prevailed. "The empress commands me," said the general, "I must obey. He who seeks the ruin of Silverius, and not I, shall answer for it at the last day." The Pope was accused, to afford a pretext for executing the order, of having held a treasonable correspondence with Vitiges, the Goth, who was raised to the throne in place of Theodotus, who was deposed. To prove this, a letter was produced as from the Pope, inviting Vitiges to attack the city and he would open its gates. It was proved that this letter

was forged by Marcus, a lawyer, and Julianus, a military man, who had been suborned by the empress' friends. Belisarius entreated the Pope to comply with the request of his mistress, and not place him under the necessity of doing what he said was his duty. The Pope declared that he could not abandon his own duty, and that the power of rulers could not justify him before God. He then took refuge in the Church of St. Sabina. The general contrived to get him out of the church, and had him privately removed; and Vigilius was consecrated on the 22d of November, 537, it being published that Silverius had voluntarily resigned. The good Pope was removed to Palmaria, in Lycia, the bishop of which place treated him with the kindness due to the Father of the faithful, and obtained from the emperor an order for his restoration, unless he could be proved guilty of high treason. The executioners of the empress' orders contrived his detention in the little Island of Palmaria, where he died, some say of ill treatment, others by the hand of an assassin, on the 20th of June, 538.

Vigilius repented of his crimes, and though theretofore an intruder, was now confirmed in his place, and became the successor not only to the dignity, but to the firm orthodoxy of Silverius, so that the designs of Theodora were frustrated.

Still, however, Justinian could not refrain from interfering in the concerns of the Church; and the opponents of Catholicity, amongst whom his wife was the most restless and not the least artful, took advantage of this propensity. Justinian had a council held under Mennas, in which laws were passed anew against the Nestorians and several sects of Eutychians; and the emperor persecuted all who would not receive those laws. Changing their appellation, some of those proscribed sectaries now took up the doctrines of Origen; and an application was made to the emperor, who actually neglected the government of the empire to get entangled in theological broils, to have them condemned.

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Justinian wanted but an opportunity to commence new work; and now that it was afforded, he began. The party knew that if the edict were once published, Justinian, whose pride was excessive, would never retract it. They calculated thus to bring discredit upon the Council of Chalcedon, and, by the power of the emperor, force the Catholics to subscribe contradictions or submit to persecution; but they were disappointed. Justinian published his edict condemning the three chapters—such was the appellation of those writings in 545—but it contained only the assertion of true doctrine.

V.

The edict of Justinian on the affair of the three chapters caused great disunion in the Church. The Eutychians boasted that the Council of Chalcedon was partially condemned thereby, many of the Catholics were of the same opinion, and several others could see in the edict only the declaration of the Catholic faith, without any reproach flung upon the Fathers of Chalcedon.

This is not the place for me to examine the grounds of their opinions. I only mention facts historically. A schism between the Catholics was the consequence. Pope Vigilius, who was at Constantinople, issued a condemnation of those documents styled a judicatum, saving, however, all respect for the authority of the Council of Chalcedon. Vigilius also placed the Empress Theodora under excommunication, and broke off special communication with Mennas.

The judicatum, so far from healing the schism, increased it. Vigilius then proposed to assemble a council for the examination of the chapter; and, pressed on all sides, superceded the judicatum by another decree called the constitutum, in which under a different formula, the same errors were condemned, and a prohibition was issued to derogate from the authority of the Fathers, who had preceded those times. The emperor and his officers ill-treated the

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mosque. He also, in other parts of the empire, built thirty churches, ten hospitals, and twenty-three monasteries; but he made an inglorious peace with Chosroes, King of Persia, preferring to embroil himself and his empire in the theological disquisitions to discharging his duty by protecting his people from the ravages of enemies, and securing peace and justice for them in their temporal concerns, which had been specially entrusted to his care. This Emperor, in his latter years, fell into the heresy of the Incorruptibles, and after having been a persecutor for doctrine, a torment to the Church, a defender of faith, and a violator of discipline, he died out of the pale of that Church, in the year 556, having latterly begun to persecute those who held the Catholic faith, for not having followed him in his errors; amongst whom was Eutychius, the patriarch of the imperial city.

His successor was Justin II, who held the Catholic faith, and recalled all the Catholic prelates who had been banished by his uncle, with the exception of Eutychius. But though his doctrine was orthodox, his morality was corrupt. He died in 578, and was succeeded by Tiberius Constantine, who recalled the patriarch from Pontus, where he had spent twelve years in exile. St. Gregory the Great, who was afterwards Pope, was at this time nuncio from Pope Pelagius II, in the imperial city, and was on the most intimate terms with the emperor and his successor. By the exertions of the prelates, who were now free to use their best efforts, heresy and schism disappeared in several parts. The patriarch taught that by the resurrection the bodies would be impalpable; but upon a conversation with the nuncio, he was convinced of his error and openly corrected it.

After a reign of four years, Tiberius died, and was succeeded by Maurice, in 582. Gregory was soon afterwards recalled to Rome, and in 590 succeeded Pelagius in the pontificate. At the close of this century, John the Faster, a man of extraordinary austerity of life, but also of stern

manners, was in the See of Constantinople. He went in his progress a step farther than any of his predecessors, and took the title of Universal Bishop. Gregory wrote to reprove him for the presumption, requiring him to desist from using so equivocal a phrase, which had never been used by any bishop. Gregory, who knew well the history of the Constantinopolitan aggressions, and the ambition of the emperors to elevate the authority of that see, as well as the flattery of the provincial prelates, justly thought it would be giving his sanction to a principle of usurpation, to permit this to pass unnoticed. John answered that he did not assume the title as claiming jurisdiction over all the Churches, but over a great many. Gregory, however, insisted upon the title being altogether disused, which John for a time complied with.

The Emperor Maurice was extremely avaricious. This unfortunate passion caused him to refuse the payment of a small ransom demanded by the Khan of the Avari, for the release of ten thousand prisoners whom he had taken. This barbarian put them to death, and Maurice, looking upon himself as their murderer, was overwhelmed with grief. However, untaught by this, he ordered his troops into winter quarters beyond the Danube, that he might support them at less expense in an enemy's country. After the massacre of the prisoners, the emperor frequently prayed that God might rather punish him in this life than in the next. His prayer appears to have been heard and granted.

The troops beyond the Danube, displeased at their hard treatment, revolted, and chose Phocas, exarch of the centurions, as their leader, crossed the Danube, and came to Constantinople, where they proclaimed Phocas emperor. Maurice fled from the city. Many persons stating that Phocas could not reign whilst Maurice lived, a party was sent after the unfortunate fugitive, who was taken with his wife and eight children, and in the vicinity of Chalcedon they were deliberately murdered before his face, the unhappy father exclaiming frequently that verse of the 118th Psalm,

"Thou art just, O Lord, and Thy judgments are equitable." The unhappy monarch himself was slain last; and Phocas thus was elevated upon a blood-stained throne. He was crowned by Cyriacus, the patriarch, who still assumed the title of Universal Bishop.

St. Gregory the Great died in 604, and was succeeded by Sabinianus, whose successor was Boniface III, who, during his short pontificate, procured an order from Phocas to the imperial city, forbidding them to use the obnoxious title which John the Faster had attempted to establish and Cyriacus had assumed.

Phocas was deposed and put to death by Heraclius in 610, during the occupation of the See of Constantinople by Segius. In the year 625, Chosroes, King of Persia, who still ravaged Judea and the eastern provinces, required as a condition for peace, which Heraclius sought, the apostacy of the empire from Christianity and the adoption of the religion of the Persians. Heraclius rejected the proposal and prepared for vigorous operations; and it is fit here to remark, that it was upon this occasion the Turks, who were a savage tribe in the northwest of Asia, were brought down by Heraclius into Thrace; and about this period also Mahomet began his progress in Arabia.

VI.

I have made considerable progress in exhibiting the revolutions of religion in this unfortunate country; but the events thicken as I proceed; and as my object at present is not to give a detailed history of religion, but a sufficient sketch to enable my readers generally to know the manner in which each portion of the Church came to its present situation, I shall not find it necessary to dwell so much in detail upon the subseqnent history of Turkey or Greece. In my account of Russia, I showed how the faith was introduced to the southern part of that nation; and as the northern part of what is at present Turkey in Europe and

the southern part of Russia were then occupied by the same hordes, the history of one is the history of the other. I shall still, therefore, confine myself to the history of Thrace and Greece.

Heraclius, having determined upon carrying on the war vigorously against Chosroes, King of Persia, was not much occupied with theology at first. However, the various sectaries which now arose produced perpetual contention and theological disputes, and the speculative Greeks were ever and ever making new distinctions and inventing new subtleties. The original errors having been with respect to the nature of our blessed Redeemer, every particle, if I may use an expression of that nature, was subjected to their examination. A new contest now arose.

Sergius, Archbishop of Constantinople, was a disguised Eutychian, and anxious covertly to introduce his doctrines, he began with Heraclius. His imperial pupil, charmed with the care of his new preceptor and gratified at the compliments paid to his progress in the theological erudition, adopted the dictates of the archbishop as the results of his own convictions. Nor was Heraclius the only pupil of the plotting prelate. Many others were infected with the new opinions, which as yet had not been brought to full light.

Eutychianism consisted in the doctrine of the singleness of the Redeemer's nature. This doctrine had been condemned. Of course, to teach it openly would insure condemnation. But if there was only a single will, there was of course in the Redeemer only a single rational nature. Could the doctrine of this single will be covertly established, the singleness of nature would be thus taught. This first doctrine had not yet been examined nor formerly proscribed, and Sergius inculcated that in Christ there was but one will, and thus he prepared the way for the introduction of Eutychianism.

Athanasius, Patriarch of the Jacobites, who were a great body of Eutychians, having been informed by Sergius of

the dispositions of Heraclius, went to meet his majesty at Hierapolis, and informed him that he and his people were anxious for a reunion with the Church, and that he would make such a profession of faith as would satisfy the Patriarch of Constantinople, and offered to content himself with expression that in Christ there was only one will. Heraclius, anxious for this union, embraced the proposition joyfully, and declared that he would take every step in his power to have Athanasius raised to the See of Antioch.

Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, was another of the conspirators who, under the pretext of union, peace and charity, came to offer his services for the harmony of the faithful; and it was contrived that he obtained the See of Alexandria. Thus, without any noise, the principal sees of the East were, through the cunning of Sergius, in the power of Monothelites. Sophronius, a Syrian monk, was the first who exposed the heresy. He besought the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople in vain. They drew up a form to be subscribed by all who desired union with the Church. It consisted of nine articles; and the seventh only, which contained the doctrine of Monotheletism, was erroneous. The Eutychians ran in crowds to sign it, and the emperor was gratified.

The next step was to guard against the condemnation of Rome. For this purpose Sergius wrote to Pope Honorius that a most brilliant prospect was now before them of reuniting to the Church all the contending sects of the East; that the Patriarch of Alexandria had been eminently successful; that crowds were every day flocking in to reunite themselves; and that no obstacle was raised but by the unauthorized interference of the monk Sophronius, who was creating difficulties by discussing a new question upon which the Scriptures contained nothing, and which the councils had never even entertained, and which, though many of the Fathers had touched upon, still was more a question for grammarians than for bishops; and that, as all the success of their exertions depended upon peace, it

was requested that Honorius would command silence upon this new topic. The artifice succeeded; and the Pope, thus deceived, wrote a letter desiring that there should be no disputes about words, and that Sophronius should not trouble the Patriarch of Alexandria.[1] Sophronius was meantime raised to the See of Jerusalem, and held a council in which Monotheletism was condemned. He wrote to Honorius, and in return the Pope sent a second letter, in which he repeated his desire of silence upon the subject. Sophronius, aware that there must have been some imposition practiced upon the Holy See, selected Stephen, Bishop of Doria, upon whom he placed the greatest reliance, and taking him to Mount Calvary, bound him solemnly, as he would account to that Saviour who there shed His blood, to go to Rome and to lay the facts distinctly before the Pope, and gave him upwards of six hundred passages of the Fathers, which clearly contained the doctrines of two wills, the human and the divine, together with Scriptural texts. The Monothelites did all they could to intercept the holy bishop; but though they waylaid him in a variety of places, he arrived safely in Rome, but found Honorius had died.

Meantime Sergius composed a document, which Heraclius published under the title of Ecthesis, or an explanation, in 639. The doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation are clearly stated in Catholic terms in this document; but there is a passage regarding the unity of will in the Redeemer, which is susceptible of an explanation in either sense. This document caused great commotion. Severinus was the immediate successor of Honorius; but dying after a pontificate of four months, he was succeeded by John IV, who, learning the true state of the question from the Bishop of Doria, condemned the Ecthesis in 640. Heraclius thereupon revoked the document, and informed the Pope that it had been drawn up by Sergius.

[1] This does not touch the infallibility of the Pope, since he was here acting not in the formal character of Pastor Eternus.

Jerusalem was taken by the Mussulmen, under the Caliph Omar, in 638; and in the following year, on the 11th of March, 639, St. Sophronius died. The Emperor Heraclius was succeeded in 641 by Constantine, who, after a reign of more than three months, made way for Heracleonas, and he in six months was succeeded by the Emperor Constans, in the same year 641.

Sergius, Bishop of Constantinople, died in 638, and was succeeded by Pyrrhus, a Monothelite. This prelate, having joined with Martina and Heracleonas in their wicked poisoning of Constantine and the usurpation of Heracleonas, fled from the city after the punishment of the empress and the usurper. Paul, another Monothelite, occupied the See of Constantinople; and he prevailed upon Constans, the emperor, in 648, to publish his edict called the Type, imposing silence on the Catholics and the Monothelites. The Type was condemned by Pope Theodore in the same year. Pyrrhus, having passed from Africa to Rome, retracted his errors, and was received into communion by the Pope. Thence he passed to Ravenna, where, at the instigation of the exarch Olympius, he relapsed into his errors, in the expectation of being restored to the favor of the emperor; and Paul dying in 655, he again got into the see of the imperial city. Many of the best, bravest, and wisest men of the empire fell victims to the relentless persecution of the Monothelites: amongst them was the holy Pope Martin, who, after severe torture in Constantinople, died of want and ill-treatment, in exile in the Chersonesus.

Constans dying in 668, was succeeded by his son, Constantine Pogonatus, who was a Catholic. He requested the Pope Donus to assemble a council; but that pontiff, in 688, was succeeded by Agatho, who complied with the emperor's request, and sent his legate to preside at the synod, which assembled in Constantinople in the month of November, 680. Theodore, a Monothelite, had succeeded Pyrrhus in the see of that city; and he having been

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Platonic and Pagan philosophy existed among the Greek Christians, and by endeavoring to incorporate or reconcile these principles with the principles of the Gospel, several errors in religion were introduced. In order to correct these errors and to establish the true principles of the Gospel, general councils of the Church were from time to time convened: and so we perceive that the first eight general councils were held in the East.

The first was held at Nice, in 325, regarding the divinity of Christ, and condemning the Arian heresy. The second at Constantinople, in 381, regarding the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and condemning the heresy of the Semi-Arians, the Sabellians, and the Macedonians. The third at Ephesus, in 431, against the Nestorians, showing that there was only one person in Christ, and that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God. The fourth at Chalcedon, in 451, against the Eutychians, showing that there were two natures in Christ. The fifth at Constantinople, in 553, respecting the errors of Origen and the three chapters. The sixth at Constantinople, in 680, against the Monothelites, proving that there were two wills and operations in Christ. The seventh at Nice, in 787, condemning the Iconoclasts (image-breakers), and establishing the doctrine of proper respect to sacred images. The eighth at Constantinople, in 869, against the schism of Photius. This proud and usurping prelate gave origin to the unfortunate separation of the Greek from the Catholic Church. Until this period both Churches were under one head, and though the Eastern Church lost many members by the above-named heresies, the great body were still Catholic, and in full communion with the Catholic Apostolic Church of Rome. One fact is very striking: that though the several separatists of the Eastern Church differ from the Catholic Church, yet they agree with her in all those points on which Protestants differ from the Catholic doctrine.

The history of Photius, the remarkable schismatic, must be examined. Bardas, the uncle of the young Emperor *Michael, who then* governed the Eastern Empire, gave great

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was no longer able to discharge the duties of his office. Pope Nicholas was on his guard; he sent two legates to Constantinople to get a correct statement of the case. The legates were not permitted to inquire into the facts, and were told that if they did not report favorably for Photius they would be sent into cruel exile. After long resistance they yielded to the emperor's will. Ignatius was removed to the Isle of Terebintius, where he suffered much; thence called to assist at a council formed in order to forward the views of Photius. Ignatius intending to assist in his patriarchal robes, was commanded by the emperor to come in the garb of a simple monk; he obeyed, and came to the council, where the emperor attended; pressed to give in his resignation, and not yielding, he was sent away: in ten days after he was forced to return, for he declared his intention not to be present at such a council, which was held in violation of all the rules of the Church. False charges were made against Ignatius; it was said that he had been consecrated without an electoral decree; a sentence of deposition was pronounced against him; he was divested of the pallium and of his episcopal robes and was declared unworthy of the priesthood. Photius caused him to be shut up in the vault of Constantine Copronymus. He was given in charge to three cruel guards, who stripped him of his clothes and placed him on a cold flag during the rigors of the winter season. Left for eight days without food or repose, he was put into a marble tomb, and bound therein, and left a whole night in this cruel posture; unbound the next day, and his hand forcibly put to sign a deed, drawn up by Photius, to the following purport: "I, Ignatius, the unworthy Patriarch of Constantinople, declare that I have been raised to this see without an electoral decree, and that I have tyrannically governed the same." This pretended declaration was presented to the emperor, and Ignatius was set at liberty. The illustrious prelate then sent to Rome a memorial signed by the metropolitans, fifty bishops, and many priests; he related what he had suffered and prayed for redress.

Photius, not yet satisfied, advised the emperor to make Ignatius read aloud in the Church of the Apostles, at Constantinople, his act of resignation, and to cause his hand to be cut off and his eyes plucked out. Ignatius being informed of the whole, escaped this new persecution by flight. In the garb of a slave he retreated by night from the city, and fled to the Isle of Propontide. He suffered much in his flight, and was closely sought for by Photius.

In the meantime Photius wrote hypocritical letters to Pope Nicholas, saying: "When I reflect on the great duties of the episcopal station, and on the weakness of man, and on my own in particular, I am surprised that any one could be found to assume such serious obligations. I cannot express my regret on beholding myself invested with such a burden. My predecessor having resigned his see, the clergy, the metropolitans, and especially the emperor, full of kindness towards others, but of cruelty toward me, and regardless of my opposition, have laid the episcopal charge on my shoulders. Thus, in spite of my tears and regrets, they have forced me into the episcopacy." Conscious of his own imposture, he exhibited forged letters from the Pope, which he himself had penned. The forgery was discovered, but he contrived to evade the deserved punishment. Photius was equally criminal in concealing the scandals of the Emperor Michael. This profligate prince laughed at all the ceremonies and doctrines of Christianity.

Pope Nicholas being duly informed of what passed at Constantinople, held a council and condemned Photius as a usurper. He wrote to Constantinople, saying that he would never hold communion with Photius, unless he renounced his usurped see.

Cæsar Bardas met a fatal end, and Photius lost his chief supporter. Michael suspecting Bardas, got him torn to pieces. Photius, yielding to the times, strongly inveighed against Bardas, and endeavored to merit the good graces of Michael. Many having retired from the communion of Photius, on receiving the papal mandate, he excited a re-

lent persecution against them. He deprived some of their dignities—others of their property, and sent others into exile. On seeing that the Pope cut him off from his communion, he excommunicated the Pope in turn. To give a coloring to his proceedings, he held what he called a general council, where the emperor presided, and some legates from the East. False charges and false witnesses were produced against Pope Nicholas. Photius pretended to take the part of the Pope, and said he ought not to be condemned in his absence. The members of the council opposed his feigned opposition, and a sentence of deposition was pronounced against the Pope. He sent the acts of the council to the Roman Emperor, Lewis, and begged of him to banish Pope Nicholas, as being condemned by a general council.

This proceeding, of course, broke off all communion between the See of Rome and Photius; but to support his usurpation, Photius wrote a circular to the Eastern bishops, accusing the Latin Church of errors. Behold the prototype of Martin Luther. The accusation was, that the Roman Church held that the Holy Ghost "proceeded not only from the Father, but from the Son." To the present day, this is the chief point on doctrinal matters between the Greek schismatics and the Catholic Church.

Pope Nicholas being informed of this charge, wrote a pastoral letter on the unjust proceedings of the Greek emperor, and refuted the calumnies advanced against the Church of Rome.

The Emperor Michael still proceeded in his iniquitous career. Wishing to assassinate Basilius in a chase, he was himself killed by his own guards in a state of intoxication, and Basilius was proclaimed emperor. On the next day Photius was banished and Ignatius recalled from his exile. Basilius, with the advice of Ignatius, wrote to Pope Adrian to assemble a general council, in order to heal the wounds inflicted on the Church by the schism of Photius. The *Pope sent three legates* to Constantinople, where they were

received with every mark of respect. The emperor paid them due honors and requested of them to exert all their influence to establish a reunion of the Churches.

II.

Pope Adrian, having duly convened a general council to restore peace to the Greek Church, the council was accordingly opened on the 5th of October, 869, in the Church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople. The Pope's legates, to whom was assigned the first place, presented their credentials to the Emperor Basilius or Basil, by whom they were received with marks of profound respect; the Patriarch Ignatius took his seat next to the Pope's legates, then the legates from the patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem. The bishops who suffered persecution from Photius were then introduced. At the close of the first session, the Pope's letter was read to the council. In the next session, those priests and bishops, who yielded to the violence or persuasion of Photius, presented themselves, and explained the rigorous treatment employed by Photius in order to bring them over to his usurpation. They said they had been chained, cast into hideous dungeons, and supplied with the most offensive food; they, however, expressed their sorrow for having fallen.

By order of the legates, Photius attended at the fifth session; on his appearance, they exclaimed: "Is this Photius who has caused so much trouble in the Church?" Photius affected a profound silence, quoted some texts of Scripture, false in their application and offensive to the council; he persisted in his silence—was required to yield to the voice of the council—answered by reciting more texts of Scripture, which did not bear on the question, and which only exposed his hypocrisy.

The Emperor attended at the sixth session; the bishops favorable to Photius were present, and on being convinced of their error, the greater part renounced the schism.

Photius was again exhorted in the seventh to submit. He replied that he had no answer to make to calumny. In the eighth session, the imposition and foul means practiced by Photius, in order to create and continue the schism, were investigated and fully detected. Many of the image-breakers abjured their error. In the ninth session, penance had been imposed on the false witnesses who were procured against Ignatius. When the partizans and accomplices in crime of the Emperor Michael were arraigned for their wicked proceedings, they advanced as an excuse the threats and menaces of that prince.

At the tenth and last session, the emperor, with his son, Constantine, attended; the three ambassadors from Lewis, Emperor of Italy and France, and those from Michael, King of Bulgaria, were present, and about one hundred bishops. They approved of the seven general councils—confirmed the sentence of Popes Nicholas and Adrian against Photius. Twenty-seven canons of discipline were drawn up, and a confession of faith against the errors of the "Monothelites and Iconoclasts."

The pride of Photius would not submit; for the space of eight years, which he passed in exile, he was devising means for his restoration. He endeavored, by a singular stratagem, to secure the favor of the Emperor Basil. He framed a genealogy, in which he flattered the pride of the prince by tracing his origin to Tiridades, King of Armenia, and enriched this genealogy with a prophecy "that the reign of Basil would be more illustrious than any of his predecessors." Photius transcribed this fictitious narrative on three old parchments, and enveloped them in a moth-eaten cover and thus couched sent them to Theophanes, the emperor's secretary, with whom he had previously compounded on the subject.

Theophanes showed this roll to the emperor as being the oldest and most curious manuscript in the library, and said that nobody was able to read or explain it but Photius. *Basil, ignorant* of the deception, yielded to the impulse

...gy, he slept in the
Churches honor his memory

Photius finding Ignatius
tious views no more, assum
and persecuted the friends
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John to Constantinople, rega
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mate Patriarch of Constantin
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mate patriarch, and to cond
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sixth session of this sham cou

The Emperor Basil died in 886, and was succeeded by Leo VI, surnamed the Philosopher, who was fully aware of the iniquitous and schismatical acts of Photius. The great schismatic was exiled to the monastery of the Armenians, where he soon finished his evil career. Peace and unity were then restored to the Greek Church.

I have endeavored to compress these facts into as narrow limits as possible, in order not to weary some of my readers who appear to have a great aversion to lengthened discussions. Unfortunately we have no good ecclesiastical history in the English language.[1] The histories in Latin and French are rather voluminous, and hence it is no easy matter to collect a good account of Church concerns in a few pages. It would be much easier to give copious extracts than succinct narratives on such matters, but my time and labor are for the public and so I shall spare no pains to satisfy them.

III.

In the death of Photius the schismatics lost their head and chief support: the majority of the people returned to Catholic ministry and truth. The letters and works of Photius being in considerable circulation kept alive the spirit of disobedience to the mother Church. Though the materials for fresh schism were for a considerable time ready to burst forth into open insubordination, yet it was not till the year 1050 that the brand of discord was violently hurled into the bosom of the Church by Michael Cerullarius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and a bold proselyte to the views of Photius. Many of the Greek bishops were anxious for some occasion of renewing the schism, and of finding some resolute champion in their cause. The patriarch of Constantinople had lately assumed the title of Universal Bishop, knowing well that such a step would not pass unnoticed by the Pope. Italy was at this period in a

[1] *Hefele's History*, now being translated, is such a work, though it bears only on the first ages.

divided condition, and the seat of war and desolation, and from the intrigue and influence of some corrupt chieftains and princes, unworthy men were raised to the papal chair, which they dishonored by their irregular lives, and which brought scandal on the Church, and sunk the papal authority in the esteem of the Greek Church.

During this state of affairs, Michael Cerullarius wrote a letter to one of the Latin bishops, which at once revived and propagated the old schism. He attempted to prove to all the Latin bishops, that Christ, after having celebrated the ancient Pasch in Azymes or unleavened bread, instituted the pasch or Eucharistic Sacrifice of the new law, in leavened bread, and hence Cerullarius charged the Latin Church with error; he also accused the Latins for shaving their beards, for fasting on Saturdays, for eating strangled meat, and for inserting the word "filioque,—from the Son," in the Nicene Creed, and thereby expressing their belief of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the Father and from the Son. He brought other charges equally false and frivolous against the Church, in that the kiss of peace was given at Mass before the Communion, that alleluiah was not sung in Lent, and that due respect was not paid to the memory and relics of the saints; he concluded by saying that as soon as the Latin Church would correct these errors, he would send other important communications. This at once put the schism beyond the hope of a reconciliation.

Cardinal Humbert, having read this letter, translated it into Latin, and sent a copy of it to Pope Leo IX. The Pope replied in a long letter, wherein he first complained of the conduct of those who were endeavoring to disturb the peace of the Church; he then added: "Is the Church of Rome, after the lapse of more than one thousand years since the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, now to begin to learn how to celebrate the 'institution' of the last supper? Are the instructions of the Apostles Peter and Paul, then of no use?" The conclusion of this letter was worthy of the common Father and

ome. "Let the Greeks follow the traditions of their
's. We know that the difference of customs, according
mes and nations, is not injurious to salvation, pro-
we be united in faith and charity."

the meantime the Emperor Constantine Monourachus,
ng, through political motives, to keep in with the
, wrote him a letter in which he expressed his
ty to support the union of both Churches, and he
ed Cerullarius to write to the same effect. On receiv-
these letters, Leo replied, and sent three legates, of
ı Cardinal Humbert was the chief. In the letter to
larius the Pope styled him merely Bishop of Con-
nople, which was not conducive to reconcile one to
Catholic Church, who seemed so desirous of schism.
legates were respectfully received by the emperor, and
nal Humbert replied to the letter of Cerullarius, in
ı he fully vindicated the Roman Catholic Church from
harges of Cerullarius. He showed that Jesus Christ
ated the Eucharist in unleavened bread, and supported
the great body of commentators that Christ celebrated
egal Pasch, which could not be celebrated with any
but unleavened bread.

is answer made no impression on Cerullarius; he
d to see or communicate with the legates.

ey indignantly expressed their displeasure at his con-
perhaps they went too far. They went to the Church
. Sophia and laid on the altar a sentence of excom-
ation against Cerullarius in presence of his clergy and
; they then retired, and shook the dust from off their
exclaiming: "May God behold him and judge him."

form of excommunication ended with these words:
authority of the blessed Trinity, of the Apostolic See,
e seven general councils of the Catholic Church, we
ribe to the sentence of excommunication pronounced
ıe Pope, and say, let Michael Cerullarius, the pre-
l *patriarch, guilty* of many crimes, and Leo, Bishop
cadia, and all their followers, be separated from the

Church until they be converted and do penance. Amen, Amen, Amen." They also forbade the laity of Constantinople to receive the Holy Communion from any clergyman who attributed errors to the Latin Church. Finally, they received the passport from the emperor and some presents for the Pope. Such a proceeding increased the schism instead of subduing it. Cerullarius, highly incensed at this act, issued a counter-decree: this decree bore his name and those of fourteen metropolitans, and declared that these legates, in attempting to corrupt the holy doctrine, were condemned by the emperor.

The Greeks after this could not bear the idea of a reconciliation with the Latin Church. They mutually encouraged each other to support the schism. They supposed that the hasty proceedings of the legates fully justified them, and erroneously attributed the faults of three individuals to the whole body of the Catholic Church. This is a common way of acting with all separatists. The schism then considerably extended its pestilential influence. Cities and provinces were soon involved in the vortex, and it came at last to such a pitch that the Greeks looked with more indignation on the members of the Latin Church than they did on the very pagans. Such are the evil effects of passion, disappointment, and the violation of Christian unity. We see to the present day the same melancholy effects produced by similar feelings. Would to God that we all had but "one heart and one spirit," like the primitive Christians! May the God of peace and charity infuse into us His Holy Spirit of unity!

ST. PETER'S ROMAN EPISCOPATE.

I.

THERE is a monthly magazine called the *Christian Advocate*, published in Philadelphia, by A. Finley, in the sixty-seventh number of which, for July, 1828, is found the following preface to a dissertation:

"We are indebted to a clerical brother, to whom we lent a few numbers of the 'Archives du Christianisme,' for the following translation. It will convey useful information to many of our readers, and we earnestly recommend to the serious consideration of all the remarks of the translator at the close. While the Romanists are pursuing an organized system to diffuse their pernicious errors in our country, it does seem to us that some systematic endeavors should be employed to counteract them."

This dissertation and its appendages are published to the American people as a deliberate attack upon what the writer is pleased to call the Romanists, that is, the Roman Catholics, to whose body I have the honor and happiness of belonging. I am not aware of any organized system amongst us, save that which is common to all our brethren of other denominations: the system of having our public churches and our regular ministry. If a line of distinction were to be drawn between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches of the United States, upon the point of "organized system," I am of opinion that, owing to circumstances which I am in charity bound to suppose beyond the control of those with whom the remedy lies, the former is manifestly the worst organized Church in our States;[1] and it is notoriously defective in the essential

[1] This was written A. D. 1829, since when the principal defects lamented by the writer have been supplied; this language therefore cannot correctly be applied to the Catholic Church of the United States as it now exists.

...appointment. He shou
not exist a pretext for
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This writer complains
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nor for his Church. How
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were Sabbath-breakers, even to the travelling in stages and steamboats, yea, so far as to permit small meats to be sold in open market, in Southern cities, on the summer Sabbath morning!

However, it seems that full scope was not afforded for the zeal of the writer in the wrestling with those abominations, but that he had a superabundance which could only be expended upon the Romanists. Neither was he content that the venerable Bishop White and his brother Bowen, together with their two armies of zealous ladies, should have the exclusive honor of pelting Popish pastors with their paper pellets for their enormous errors, but that this chosen one should, like another Saul, lead his host to complete the victory by pursuing the Philistines, whom Jonathan and his armor-bearer had already routed.

It cannot be unknown to all that "systematic endeavors" have been during a long period "employed to counteract the Romanists" in all parts of this Union, from the period when the ebulitions of zeal against Popery in New England and in Georgia rendered abortive the mission of Franklin, of Carroll, and of Chase into Canada, down to the present day. You that have ears to hear must frequently have found the religion of your Catholic progenitors "systematically" denounced in prayer and in declamation from the desk, the pulpit, and the stump; in the tale of your horrified grandam and of your enthusiastic attendant in the nursery; in conning over the spelling and the reading book of your infancy, in the nasal eloquence of your pedantic pedagogue, in the learned lucubrations of your proud professor, as well as in the pretty lispings of your sweet Sunday-school spinsters. Yea, this is but a faint outline of the "systematic endeavors," which are so powerfully aided by the upturned eye, the sigh of pity, the ejaculation of pious wonder, and the sanctimonious sneer. If missions hither and thither, if the donations and legacies of the wealthy, if the gathering of the mites of the poor, the calculation of the back stitches and the

, the people of A
farther "systematic endeav
teract the Romanists," the
cannot determine unless he
imitate North Carolina and
bigotry; for you are of
neither of those two sanct
to hold any civil office.[1]

The editor then gives th
a French publication, *Arch*
residence of St. Peter at Ro
to examine, and then subjoi

"*Note by the Translator.*—]
Scriptural statement of the
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never was bishop of that
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Peter was not Bishop of R
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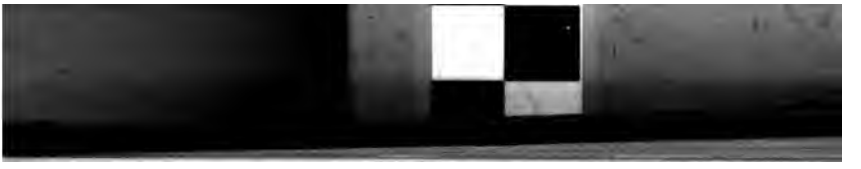


Babel, may not be unprofitable. In France, it has been republished and circulated in the form of a tract, and it might be attended with benefit to souls, if several thousand copies of it were dispersed in those portions of our own country which are most exposed to the influence and the arts of men, who would have the whole world to wonder after and worship 'the beast.'

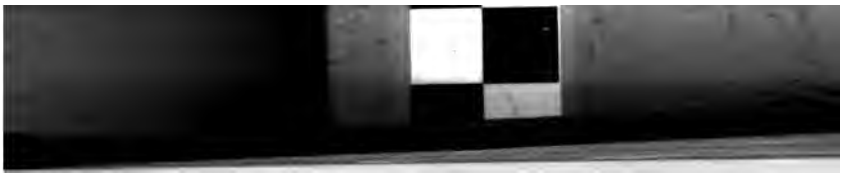
"The translator, in a letter to the editor, which accompanied the above, very justly adds:

"'It seems to me that Protestants should not be idle spectators of the exertions of the Catholic priests to waylay the unwary and destroy the simple. I have access to a weekly paper published in Charleston called the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, which affords melancholy proof of their industry, success, and deep delusion—as well as of their hatred of Protestant teachers, and of the unblushing falsehoods they invent and propagate to rivet the fetters of their followers and decoy the ignorant into their toils.'"

Allow me to address the public freely. You who differ from me in religious sentiment are too frequently under the impression that we are continually in the habit of using insulting and opprobrious language to you and of you, and that you and your ministers always speak of us in kind, mild, charitable, affectionate, and conciliating terms. I would take the liberty of requesting you who agree in tenets with the *Christian Advocate*, to observe for a few Sabbaths the mode in which Roman Catholics are mentioned or alluded to by your ministers in their prayers and preachings; and if you have ever heard a Roman Catholic priest, ask your own conscience whether in his service you found him style you or your congregation beasts; whether you heard him using the phrases which are here used regarding our clergy; seeking unhallowed and unchristian usurpation, emmissaries of delusion, and our Church a Babel! Do not then, I pray you, be over hasty in condemning us of want of charity and boasting of your *superior liberality.*

I put it to you whether a more insulting and ungenerous passage could be produced than that here used against the "Catholic priests," viz.: that they "waylay the unwary and destroy the simple." It is not surpassed by the description which follows of the mode—"hatred of Protestant teachers, deep delusion, unblushing falsehoods invented by them and propagated by them to rivet the fetters of their followers and decoy the ignorant into their toils." And where is the proof of this terrible charge to be found? Upon the pages of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*. You are in the habit of reading those pages, and I ask you whether they inculcate that hatred, whether they exhibit that falsehood? I unequivocally assert that a more insolent spirit of bigotry was never breathed than in this wretched expression, a more unfounded charge has never been made than in this offensive paragraph. And yet those men boast of their superior charity and of their superior meekness! In the name of insulted truth, let them vindicate themselves if they can; let them produce from the pages of the *Miscellany* even one passage which exhibits a tithe of the hatred to Presbyterian or to any other Protestant teachers which is here expressed by this holy man, this "clerical brother," against "Catholic priests;" and if they cannot, what ought to be thought of this *Christian Advocate!*

The great object, however, is to induce "Protestants not to be idle spectators of the exertions of the Catholic priests." Now this forcibly reminds me of a scene which I once witnessed in a court-house. The judges were much annoyed by the loud though indistinct muttering of some fellow and one of them called to the sheriff to seize upon the delinquent and thrust him into the dock, upon which the tone was changed, and his honor very audibly addressed: "I defy you and the sheriff, for I am already in the dock," and the cachinnations of the crowd (to use a big but expressive word) amused the disturber, whilst they irritated the bench. So it is with our priests; they are already in the dock; and the advocate of our castigation



knows, that from Maine to Florida, and from the Atlantic to the Stony Mountains, some thousands of roarers and some hundreds of presses assail us and oppose the "exertions of the Catholic priests," whilst collectors of rags and of corn and of cents and of dollars incessantly beg for provender and raiment, not only to feed the enthusiastic host of the heavenly assailants, but also to train up others so that they may enter, ready drilled and fully armed, to occupy the places of the veterans who might fall asleep in the Lord. Neither is the arm of the flesh always restrained, nor doth the sword of Gideon always rust in its scabbard; for beside that the fat of the land is openly reserved for the chosen ones of Israel in North Carolina and New Jersey, I could recount the acts of stout warriors who can smite powerfully in secret and destroy the unholy under the guise of liberality. The *Christian Advocate* might then rest fully satisfied that the sons of Protestant Israel neither sleep nor slumber; and though he might himself abominate works of supererogation in theory, he hath in this instance been heterodox in practice; for of a truth, it is a work of supererogation to call upon Protestants, as he hath done, to oppose the priests.

II.

The question which the dissertation undertakes to dispose of, is, whether the Apostle St. Peter was at Rome, and the conclusion drawn is, that he was never in that city. The grounds upon which it is drawn are two. First, that the authorities testifying the fact of his having been there are unworthy of credit; second, that his having been there is incompatible with the truth of the New Testament.

This question was never raised during upwards of thirteen hundred years, and through that whole period every Christian writer that we know of, who had occasion to mention the subject, stated as notorious facts, universally admitted, that St. Peter not only was at Rome, but that

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exciting the astonishment of
boldly by proclaiming, in a
astounding heresy or error,
pause, in a more subdued
he means to controvert and
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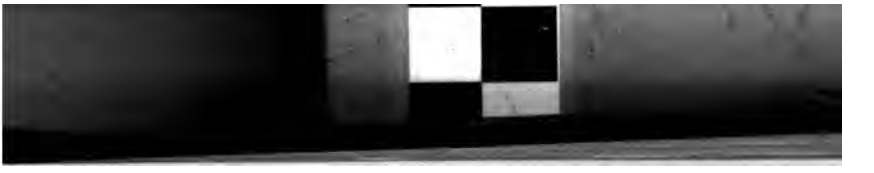
is given is the following:—
there are three persons! So
I mean to combat. Upon
Monsieur Blanc's dissertation,
the Portuguese preceptor of
to pulpit fame.



who build their faith, not on the person of St. Peter, but upon the corner-stone, Jesus Christ. The account of Papias, which is based upon a hearsay only, about eighty years after the occurrence to which it refers, is still extant, and is full of fables and ridiculous tales—such as the contest which this Apostle sustained against Simon the sorcerer, his crucifixion, with his head downwards—as if Nero had left to the Christians the care of settling the forms of their own punishment—and other similar things, which were reported originally only by this Papias himself. Eusebius, speaking of him, calls him 'a man of narrow genius, and too credulous.'"

Nobly demolished! But allow me to gather up the fragments. First I must see who Papias was. He was Bishop of Hierapolis, and flourished about the beginning of the second century. St. Peter was put to death in the year 65 or 66. Papias died about the year 150, when he was considerably upwards of eighty years old, at the very lowest calculation; I might more safely say much older. Thus in place of being a gatherer of hearsay at the distance of eighty years after the time of Peter, this prelate was more properly speaking a contemporary of the Apostle, though not his acquaintance nor his hearer, but very young and living at a distance. He lived, according to all early writers, in the days of some of the Apostles, and had his accounts from those who saw and heard and lived with them; and from conversations with those persons he compiled his five books—"An Explication of the Oracles of God." All the ancient writers concur in the testimony of the excellence of character of Papias, so that he is unquestionably an honest witness; but they also are agreed that his testimonials are to be received with caution, because of his shallow judgment and credulous disposition. The facts which he testifies are of two descriptions, respecting which a palpable distinction is easily made. Some of them were of such a nature as required no effort of judgment: such as, *knowing where one of the most remarkable of the Apostles*

resided and died. A simple, honest man who held the station of bishop soon after Peter's death, and was a sedulous inquirer into the facts regarding the Apostles, could easily learn this and could as easily testify it. But in making inquiry regarding the sayings of the Apostles, he might by reason of his narrow judgment and credulous disposition be easily misled, as we find he was respecting the opinion of the millennium, of which he was the author. Thus Papias is rather to be considered a contemporary of the Apostles, and fully competent to testify where Peter lived and died, than to be looked upon as a silly old man who is only a gatherer of hearsays respecting nearly a century before. Papias was a contemporary and companion of St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John the Evangelist, and whom this Apostle constituted Bishop of Smyrna, probably in the year 96. He was also a teacher of St. Irenæus, who died Bishop of Lyons, and who also derived much of his Christian knowledge from Polycarp; Irenæus was put to death in the year 202.

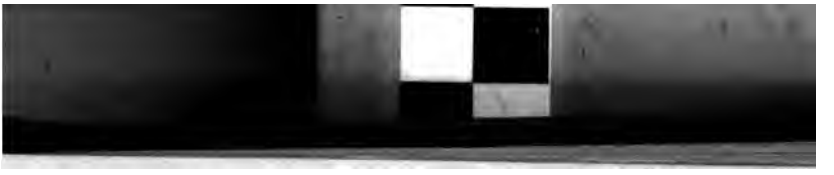
Having thus seen the character of Papias and his competency to be a witness of at least the fact where a well and publicly known man who held a high place in the Christian Church lived and died, I come to examine this flippant Frenchman's dash respecting the testimony itself. "It is upon the testimony of Papias that the Popish tradition rests." Why, of a truth, if the handing down of a known fact be tradition, yea, even this is tradition, for verily it handeth down the testified fact which was commonly and publicly known. The flimsy cobweb of the word tradition will not hide from Americans the truth. A fact must be testified by some writer that it might become a portion of recorded history; and being so testified and recorded as known truth, it does not lose its quality of truth because of being handed down. Thus, suppose we had no other original testimony save that of this old writer, *still* would it not be the less true because it had come *from* him to us. This is the way in which the Scriptures

have come to us, by tradition or delivery, and it was naturally impossible that it could have been otherwise received by us. The question at present is not whether St. Peter was there twenty-five years, nor whether he founded a Church there, nor whether he was crucified with his head downwards, nor whether the story of the contest with Simon is or is not true. Papias might have been misled upon all these points, and yet clearly know and plainly testify that Peter was at Rome and died there, though he might err in all the other particulars. I state this merely to narrow the question, not because I doubt the truth of any of the statements. The word tradition then, if meant to be opposed to good history, is a gross misrepresentation, for in making this record the Bishop of Hierapolis is a coeval historian, who receives from eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses the testimony of the residence of Peter and of his death at Rome. I doubt if M. Blank, of Philadelphia, was ever in Mexico or saw Iturbide, yet he might, in writing a history of American revolutions, fairly put into such a book the testimony of his being emperor, and dethroned, exiled, having returned, and being slain. No one of us in the United States is ignorant of those facts; yet how few of us are even now acquainted with the true state of Mexico! Whilst, then, we give correct testimony of those facts, we are liable to mistake and to be imposed upon by the accounts of a variety of opinions and conversations of some of the Scotch and Yorkist Masons, who have so much mysterious cabalism in the regulation of its affairs. Thus, respecting the residence and death of the chief of the Apostles, Papias is a good historian, though he might have been deceived in some of the particulars.

I come next to the assertion that the whole tradition (history) rests upon the testimony of Papias. Never was any assertion more unfounded. We have a great variety of other *evidence to* support the fact. The first arrival of *St. Paul in Rome is* mentioned in Acts xxviii, 14, 15, 16,

and here it is distinctly stated that the brethren (Christians) came as far as Appii Forum and the Three Taverns to meet him; consequently there were Christians in that city before his arrival. Previously to this, he had written his epistle to the Romans, where in chapter i, verses 7 and 8, it is manifest that Rome was then a city which had a Christian Church, "whose faith was spoken of through the whole world." Now the questions occur: Who made those Christians? Who governed that Church? Certainly not Paul, who had not been there at that time. Not only Papias but a great number of ancient writers inform us that Peter was their Apostle. This was stated to the knowledge of the people of Rome and of all the other Churches and not contradicted but admitted by them all, and in the earliest ages was made a foundation for a claim on the part of Rome for supremacy over the other parts of the Church. Towards several portions of the universal Church, in the earliest ages, the Bishops of Rome used measures which appeared harsh and coercive, and yet we never find a single bishop or Church in those early ages question the fact of Peter's residence and labors in Rome, though we find some of them displeased with the manner in which the authority derived from him was used against themselves. They lived near the Apostolic days, they knew the character of Papias, and still we are gravely told that this simple prelate beguiled and misled them all! Yet this is called criticism. I doubt not but we could find persons who would call it philosophy! Yes, the philosophy of history! There are some people who seriously give that name to their own speculations against fact. Monsieur Blanc, however, forgets himself a little, for though he told us that it was upon the authority of Papias the Popish tradition of St. Peter's being at Rome, etc., rested, and gives us the account of Papias as based upon a hearsay about eighty years after the occurrence—that is, in the year 146, or thereabouts—he informs us in his next paragraph:

"According to the testimony of the same Eusebius, Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, an author of the second centu



affirms also that St. Peter and St. Paul met at Corinth, and that they departed together for Rome, where they suffered martyrdom."

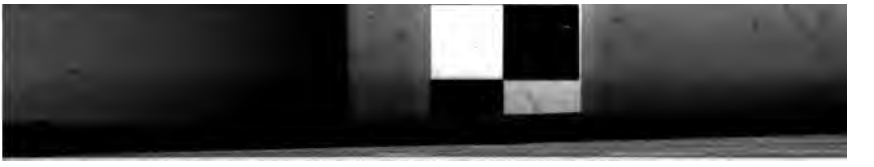
One passing remark here might not be amiss, viz., this very accurate antiquarian refers us to the 25th chapter of Book II of Eusebius, as authority for his statement that "St. Peter and St. Paul met at Corinth." Not one syllable in support of such an assertion is to be found in any copy of Eusebius which has fallen under my eye, nor in support of the other averment that "they departed together for Rome." But the history of Eusebius does contain a passage from the said Dionysius, stating that both those saints did instruct the Christians at Corinth, and were united in building or planting the Church at Rome; and Eusebius also states, that the same author testifies their martyrdom at Rome. Thus we find the essayist gives us another witness besides Papias; and, therefore, the Popish tradition, even according to himself, does not rest on that prelate alone. This looks like a contradiction. Dionysius died in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, of course before the year 192, and at an advanced age. If Papias wrote at Hierapolis only from a hearsay, eighty years after the transaction, Dionysius in Corinth, who wrote several years before his death his epistle to the Romans, in which this testimony is found, must in all likelihood have learned it from other sources besides the book of the Bishop of Hierapolis. And how strangely must it sound to the Romans when the letter of the Bishop of Corinth was read to them, informing them of what, upon the supposition of our friend, the Reverend Blanc, they knew to be false, viz., that St. Peter, who never was in their city, planted their Church and was put to death in a place where he never had been! Yet this Dionysius appeared to know the history of the Roman Church very well, for in this same epistle to the Romans, or rather to Soter, their Bishop, he writes, in thanking them for the alms received from *Rome for his Church*;

"From the beginning it is your custom to bestow your alms in all places, and to furnish subsistence to many Churches. You send relief to the needy, especially to those who work in the mines; in which you follow the example of your fathers. Your blessed Bishop Soter is so far from degenerating from your ancestors on that head, that he goes beyond them; not to mention the comfort and advice which he, with the bowels of a tender father towards his children, affords to all who come to him. On this day we celebrated together the Lord's day, and read your letter as we do that which was heretofore written to us by Clement."

It will be matter of more than curiosity to compare this with an early Protestant translation:

"It hath bene your accustomed manner, euen from the beginning: diuersely to benefit all the brethren, and to send relief throughout the citie, supplying the want of the poore by refreshing them in this sorte, and specially the want of the brethren appointed for slauish drudgerie, and digging of metalls. You Romaines of olde do retaine the fatherly affection of Rome, which holy Soter, your byshop, not only obserued, but also augmented, ministring large and liberall relief to the vse of the sainctes: embracing louingly the conuerted brethren, as a father doth his sonnes, with exhortation of wholesome doctrine. Here also he remembreth the epistle of Clemens written to the Corinthians, showing the same of auncient custome, to haue bene read in the Church, for thus he writeth: We have this day solemnized the holy Sunday, in the which we haue read your epistle and always will for instructions sake, even as we do the former of Clemens written vnto us."

"The citie" is here substituted for "many churches;" any person can tell why. The bishop who wrote thus did not need the hearsay nor the tradition of Papias to tell who was the first Bishop of Rome. Of a verity then, *Dionysius* copied not Papias, as of a truth Monsieur Blanc *copied* not either Eusebius or Dionysius where he affected *to do.* Dionysius, however, must also be demolished.



"But besides that Dionysius himself complains that his letters have been falsified by heretics, a circumstance which considerably invalidates the authority of his writings, this testimony ought not to outweigh the truth of our holy Scriptures, which, with the divine assistance, we shall bring forward below."

Then we must, it seems, throw the testimony of this writer away, because he complains that "his letters had been falsified by heretics." If the principle be good, we must give to it all due weight and value; and, therefore, must make no use of what he thus states to have been so falsified. Of course, M. Blanc cannot reject one portion of the passage, and keep another, without giving some sufficient reason therefor. The following is the Protestant translation:

"When I was intreated of the brethren to write, I wrote certain Epistles, but the messengers of Satan have sowen them with tares, pulling away some, putting to others some, whose condemnation is laid up of certaine. No marveil then though some endeavored to corrupt the sacred Scriptures of God, when as went about to counterfeit such writings of so small authoritie."[1]

Are we then to reject the Scriptures? Have not heretics endeavored to falsify them? My answer is very simple. Attempts were made to change passages in those epistles of Dionysius regarding doctrine and opinion, but concerning a plain fact, as well known at Rome, whither he wrote, as at Corinth, upon a subject regarding which Rome could not mistake, it would indeed be egregious folly to attempt any counterfeit, for such counterfeit would be at once detected, and would expose him who made it to condemnation and contempt. But what a case do our adversaries make out for us, if they call this a forgery? It is equivalent to an avowal that in the days of this bishop, there was a body of men who falsified his letters to make it appear that Peter was at Rome, and that their system was,

[1] *Lib. iv. c. 23.*

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Before I proceed to add
to close my remarks up
adduced from Monsieur Bl

"CAP. XV.

"The foyle of Simon, and mention of the Gospell vvritten by St. Marke.

"When the heauenly worde came thither, immediately the power of *Simon*, together with him selfe came to nought, and the flame was quenched. But of the contrarie such a light of piety shined in the mindes of such as heard *Peter*, that they were not suffized with once hearing, neither satisfied with the unwritten doctrine that was deliuered: but earnestly besought *Sainct Marke* (whose Gospell is now in use) that he would leaue in writing, vnto them, the doctrine which they had receaued by preaching, neither ceassed they, vntil they had perswaded him, and so geuen an occasion of the Gospell to be written, which is now after *Marke*. It is reported, that the Apostle vnderstanding of this by inspiration of the holy spirite, was pleased with the motion of those men, and commanded this Gospell now written to be read in the Churches. *Clemens*, in the sixth of his *Hypotiposeon*, reporteth this story. With him agreeth *Papias*, Bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Asia*, who sayth, that of this *Marke* mention is made of *Peter*, in his former Epistle, which he compiled being at *Rome*, and of him the citie of *Rome* figuratively to be called *Babylon*, the which is signified when he sayth: *the Church partaker of your election, which is at Babylon, saluteth you, and Marke my sonne.*"

There is no authority here for stating that the writer of the Hypotiposeon copied from Papias, and when Monsieur Blanc made the assertion, he wrote *the thing which is not.* Neither was Clement the author of that book, though it bears his name. Eusebius wrote in the century succeeding that in which Clement died and quotes him; but I shall show a large body of intervening testimony in several places during the interval, so that to assert as is here done by the dissertator, is to suggest a falsehood, that *this was the only* course of the testimony, and is also to

suppress the truth, that there was a large host of other witnesses; and besides, the fact here referred to is not the founding of the Church but the writing of the Gospel by St. Mark at Rome, under the direction of St. Peter.

III.

I have shown that M. Blanc's references to Eusebius are not to be relied upon; that Papias was a contemporary of some of the Apostles, and could easily ascertain who was the first Bishop of Rome; that he was an honest witness, and even according to the reverend dissertator was not the only witness who, living in the Apostolic days, testified the fact of Peter's residence at Rome; for Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, who testifies it, was also a contemporary with at least one of the Apostles.

The next attempt to destroy testimony is the effort to make Pope Clement of Rome say what is the very contradictory to his meaning.

"To all these pretensions, we can oppose, in the first place, the testimony of Clement, who is reckoned to have been the third or fourth Bishop of Rome. This pious and holy person, in his admirable epistle to the Corinthians, expresses himself thus on the subject of St. Peter and St. Paul: 'Through unjust envy, Peter did not endure one or two but a very great number of trials, and at last, having suffered martyrdom, he went to his place in glory. Through the same envy, Paul received the reward of his patience, having been in prison or in chains seven times, beaten twice, stoned once; and after he had been the herald of the Word of God in the East and in the West, he obtained by faith an illustrious victory. Having reached the extremity of the West, he suffered martyrdom *under the emperors*. Thus he departed from this world, and went to a holy place, leaving us a singular example of patience.' What is the likelihood, that in the parallel which Clement draws between these two Apostles, he should forget to say that *under the* emperors he (Peter) suffered the pains of

martyrdom? Would he have neglected a fact, in this manner, which would have given additional weight to his epistle, and done honor to his See?"

The passage of Clement is to be explained by the circumstances under which it was written, by the comment of contemporaneous writers and of those who lived soon after the period of its publication. Allow me first to remark, without questioning the accuracy of the translation, that this passage does not by any means deny, even by implication, the facts of Peter's residence and death at Rome; so that in truth there is no opposition between those two propositions: "Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, where he had resided, under the emperor Nero," which is our assertion, and this other: "Peter having suffered martyrdom, he went to the place of his glory," which is Clement's assertion. The clause *under the emperors* can without any impropriety be referred to both Saints; for in truth they both suffered in the same place. As to the apparent neglect of Clement, the answer is very simple: The fact of Peter's having suffered at Rome was so well known that it was as unnecessary to mention it at that period to Christians as it would this day be unnecessary to inform a Frenchman that Louis XVI was beheaded in Paris.

The occasion of the letter was a schism at Corinth, in or about the year 96. This letter is one of which Dionysius, Bishop of that See, makes mention in the next century as having been still read in his Church, and we have seen that this prelate informs us what meaning the passage bore in the assembly to which it was addressed and by which it was preserved, viz., that both the Apostles, Peter and Paul, suffered martyrdom in Rome. This Clement was mentioned by St. Paul.[1] His epistle was read in several of the early Churches, and was held in such esteem as to be contained in a very ancient Alexandrian manuscript copy of the Bible, sent by Cyril Lucar to James I, of England. It was carried from Rome to Corinth

[1] Phil. iv. 3.

by Fortunatus, of whom St. Paul makes mention,[1] accompanied by four messengers from Rome, whom Clement requested the Corinthians speedily to send back to him with good tidings. In all the Churches in which it was read, the belief existed that the martyrdom of both the Apostles occurred in Rome. Eusebius[2] states:

"CAP. XIII.

"*Of Clemens, his Bishopricke, his testimony, his Epistle.*

"In the twelfe yeare of the raygne of *Domitian*, when as *Anacletus* had bene Bishop of Rome twelue years: *Clemens* succeeded, whome *S. Paul*, writing to the Philipians, calleth his felow laborer, when he sayth: with *Clemens*, and the rest of my felow laborers, whose names are written in the booke of life, one undoubted epistle ther is of his, extant, both worthy and notable, the which he wrote from Rome unto Corinthe, when sedition was raysed among the Corinthians: the same Epistle we haue knowne to haue bene reade openly, and publikely, in many churches, both of old, and amongest us also. That at that tyme ther was raysed a sedition amongst the Corinthians, *Hegesippus* is a witness of creditt."

And this author distinctly testifies the martyrdom to have taken place in Rome,[3] upon the authority, amongst others, of Origen. It would be altogether too tedious to enumerate the others who, in the first three centuries, testify this to have been the sense of the passage which Mr. Blanc, by a new species of false logic, converts into a contradiction. St. Jerome, Photius, and others of highest authority in erudition and research, give this as its meaning. Amongst the Protestants, Dodwell, Bishop Pearson, Cave, Archbishop Wake, Grabe, and others, follow those ancient and venerable witnesses. Thus, the passage in Clement's epistle is

[1] 1 Cor. xvi, 17. [2] Lib. III, c. 14. [3] Lib. c. III, 1.

one which bears testimony for us and not against us. Eusebius, when he wrote, had this document, as well as several others, before him, all tending to uphold our position; and yet M. Blanc has the modesty to state that this historian only copied Clement of Alexandria who copied Papias, who made his statement upon a hearsay eighty years after the alleged occurrence! What says Eusebius himself?

"CAP. I.

"*In what countreyes the Apostles preached Christ.*

"When as the Iewish affrayres stood as before is declared, the Holy Apostles and Disciples of our Saviour were dispersed troughout the world. *Thomas* (as by tradition we receaue) chose Parthia: *Andrew*, Scythia; *John*, Asia: where he made his abode, and died at Ephesus. *Peter* is reported to haue preached to the dispersed Iewes throughout Pontus, Gallachia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, who about this latter time, tarrying at Rome, was crucified with his head downwards, which kind of death he him selfe desired. What shall I say of *Paule*, which from Ierusalem to Illyricum, filled all places with the Gospel of Christ; and at the last suffred martyrdome at Rome under *Nero?* These thinges are manifestly and word by word declared by *Origen*, in the third tome of his commentaries upon Genesis."

"CAP. II.

"*VVho was the first Bishop of Rome.*

"Linus first, after the martyrdome of *Peter* and *Paule*, was chosen Bishop of Rome, *Paule* about the latter end in the salutation of the epistle which he wrote vnto *Timothe*, from Rome, maketh mention of him, saying: *Eubulus* saluteth thee, and *Pudens*, and *Linus*, and *Claudia*."

This is a very extraordinary mode of upholding the assertion, that Eusebius copied Clement of Alexandria. One may easily observe, then, the little value of this writer's statements.

Ignatius was a disciple of St. Peter and St. Paul, as also of St. John the Evangelist, with whom he was extremely intimate, and was second Bishop after Peter of the Church of Antioch. Evodius, who, in the year 43, succeeded Peter, was succeeded by this Ignatius. St. John Chrysostom[1] and Theodoret[2] inform us that the appointment of Ignatius was made by St. Peter, and that he was consecrated by him and St. Paul. He governed the See of Antioch during upwards of forty years, and suffered martyrdom in Rome on the 20th of December, 107. In his epistle to the Romans, after he had been sentenced in Antioch to be carried to Rome and delivered to be devoured by beasts at the public games, he alludes, in the following passage, to the authority which Peter and Paul, who had so long been the special rulers of their Church, had over them: "Pray to Christ for me, that in this I may become a sacrifice to God. I do not as Peter and Paul command you; they were Apostles, I am an inconsiderable person." The whole body of ancient writers inform us that this was an allusion to the command given by those Apostles to the Christians at Rome, not to interfere, by exertion, or entreaty, or prayer, to prevent their being sacrificed. Eusebius, when he wrote, had this document also.[3] He mentioned the five books of Church history compiled by Hegesippus, who came to Rome in the Pontificate of Anicetus, about the year 160, and remained there until 177, when he returned to the East, and died probably at Jerusalem, in the year 180, at a very advanced age.[4] Eusebius states he copied very much from him; and it is in his work the principal written testimony is first found as to the request of Peter that he might be crucified with his head downwards. In book iii, chap. 2, of Hegesippus, the relation was given. Thus, in Rome itself, and from the persons of all others best qualified to give the account, this author wrote his statement which Eusebius saw; and yet Monsieur Blanc gravely informs us, that he only copied

[1] *Hom. on S. Ignat.* [illegible]al, 1, p. 28. [2] Lib. iii, c. 36. [3] Lib. iv, c. 11, 22.

Clement of Alexandria, who copied Papias, who built his tradition on a hearsay about eighty years after the occurrence, and in Hierapolis! Of a truth this is a most historical critic.

About fifty years after the time of Dionysius of Corinth, Caius wrote, of whom Eusebius gives us the following account and testimony:[1]

"This enemy of God (Nero) (wherein he was first espied) set vp him selfe to the destruction of the Apostles, for they write that *Paule* was beheaded and *Peter* crucified of him at Rome, and that maketh for the credit of our history which is commonly reported, that there be churchyards vnto this day bearing the name of *Peter* and *Paule*. In like manerr *Gaius*, a Romane, and an Ecclesiasticall person, and (after *Zepherinus*), Bishop of Rome, writing unto *Proclus*, captaine, of the heresie which the Cataphyrgæns held, speaketh thus of the tombes wherein the Apostles were layd. I (sayeth he) am able to shewe the banners of the Apostles. For if thou wilt walke vnto Vaticanum, or the waye Ostienses, thou shalt finde there victorious banners, of such as haue builded this Church. And that they were both crowned with martirdome at the same time, *Dionysius*, Bishop of Corinth, affirmeth in his epistle vnto the Romanes."

This passage is more correctly translated thus:

"Therefore, when he (Nero), professed himself the open enemy of the divinity and piety, sought first the death of the very Apostles, as being the leaders and standard-bearers amongst the people of God; and condemned Paul to lose his head in the city of Rome, and Peter to the punishment of the cross. I think it useless to search extrinsic evidence of those things, since their most splendid monuments testify to the fact to-day."

Yet M. Blanc tells us that he only copied Clement of Alexandria, who copied Papias!

St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, was born about the year 120, *in Asia Minor*, and was a disciple of the famous

[1] *Lib. ii, c. 25.*

a learned Protestant writ
twenty years old, which
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Irenæus learned the fact
Tertullian[3] calls Irenæus
doctrines." St. Epiphanius
eloquent man, endowed v
Ghost." Theodoret styles
Gauls." The commerce b
was extensive in the sec
advised by Polycarp to
Christians were extending
priest by Pothinus, Bishop
to Rome on business, from
Eleutherius; thus in the ci
tunity of investigating the
Bishop of Lyons having be
of Irenæus, he was selecte
that See; and was slain wi
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through a succession of bishops down to us. Showing which, we confound all who, any way out of self-conceit, love of applause, blindness, or false persuasions, embrace what ought not to be advanced; for to this Church, because of its better presidency, it is necessary that every Church —that is, the faithful everywhere—should address themselves; in which Church the tradition from the Apostles is altogether preserved." He then stated that SS. Peter and Paul chose Linus to succeed at their death; and he enumerates Anacletus, Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter; and Eleutherius, the twelve of the Apostles. This list is also found in Eusebius,[1] copied, as he alleges, from Irenæus. Thus one observes how extremely incorrect is the assertion of the Reverend M. Blanc as to the authority upon which this historian bases his statements.

Eusebius states,[2] from ancient accounts whose truth he considers to be extremely probable, that Philo, the Jew, who came from Egypt in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor Claudius, met and conferred at Rome with St. Peter, who then preached to the Romans. This was in the year 43 of the common era.

Arnobius, the famous Numidian rhetorician, who was converted to Christianity in or about the year 302, mentions the extensive progress of religion in Rome to have been in a great measure caused by the exposure and defeat of Simon Magus, by St. Peter, in that city.[3]

Tertullian, born at Carthage about the year 160, son of a centurion, a man of most comprehensive genius, extensive erudition, and deep research, profoundly versed in the Roman laws and the principles of evidence, in his book "On Prescriptions," states that Peter was crucified at Rome, and says that Clement was one of his successors in that See. He has in his book of Prescriptions the following passage:

[1] *Lib. v, c. 6.* [2] Lib. ii, c. xvi. [3] Lib. contra Gent.

"If you are near Italy, you have Rome; whence, too, we have authority convenient. Happy Church for which the Apostles poured out their entire doctrine, together with their blood—where Peter is assimilated to his suffering Lord, and Paul is crowned in a death like John's."

St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, was son of one of the principal senators of that city, and only at an advanced period of life embraced the Christian faith. His education was one of the first order and his talents excellent; his intercourse with the Church of Rome was very considerable, after he had been elevated to the see of his native city; nor was it all of the most forbearing and obsequious character. In a variety of places he styles Rome "the See of Peter," "the Chair of Peter," "the principal Church whence the princely unity hath arisen." In his book iv, Epistle 2, to Antonianus we read: "Cornelius was made Bishop, when the place of Fabian, that is the place of Peter, and the degree of the sacerdotal chair, was vacant." This prelate was put to death in the year 258.

Lactantius, a disciple of Arnobius, at Sicca, in Africa, was converted from Paganism to Christianity at Nicomedia, about the year 290. About the year 317 he became preceptor to Crispus Cæsar, in Gaul, by the appointment of Constantine. One of his greatest works is that "Of Divine Institutions," published first in 320. I select the following passages:

"Christ at the time of His departure manifested to His disciples the things that were to happen, which Peter and Paul preached at Rome."

"After Nero had slain them (Peter and Paul), Vespasian extinguished the name and nation of the Jews, and did all those things which they foretold were to take place."[1]

St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, was born about the year 296, and amongst other passages of his writings is the following, taken from his letter to the Hermits:

[1] Lib. iv, c. 21.

"At first they did not spare even Liberius, Bishop of Rome; not being moved by any reverence, for that his See was Apostolic."

In the same he introduces Liberius declaring:

"Never has such been handed down to us by the Fathers, who have received their tradition from the blessed and great Peter."

Origen, the fellow student of Plotinus and Longinus, the disciple of Ammonius Saccas, was certainly no mere copyist without cause. This great master of the Catechetical school of Alexandria was born in the year 184; about the year 212 he went to Rome, in the Pontificate of Zepherinus, and was unquestionably well qualified to ascertain its ecclesiastical history. It is upon his authority also that Eusebius relates the manner in which St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards, at his own request:

"And Peter having waited at Rome to the last, was crucified there, his head being downwards, which was so besought by himself, lest he should appear to be equalled to his Lord."[1]

I suspect it required no special indulgence from Nero to leave the executioner the power of agreeing to the request of one to suffer, so far as regarded the position of his body. It is a miserable sneer of sophistry to insinuate that such an acquiescence on the part of the executioner was equivalent to "allowing Christians the care of settling their own forms of punishment."

All these and a great many more who bear similar testimony lived before or together with Eusebius, the historian, who was born in the year 270. Their works and those of several others were in his hands. How absurd then is the statement that he was the mere copyist of a copyist of hearsay?

I come now to exhibit the effort which the essayist makes to destroy the entire value of all the witnesses.

[1] *Lib. iii, in Genes.*

"Let us also make, in
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books of the ancient Fathe
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nesses contradict themselves,
could have

of the monasteries, colleges and schools, which they seized on, and in the hands of many private individuals. The council could not purge all those copies of the obnoxious passages which they contained; why not adduce those passages and thus convict the Catholics of this alleged garbling? Those works and printed copies of them are at this day in the hands of Protestants, and they have been so during the existence of the Protestant Churches; when such is the case, what use would be the purging of the copies held by the Catholics?

Monsieur Blanc perhaps thinks that using the Latin word *expurgati* will be sufficient proof that the council made such a decree. It is painful but it is necessory to inform you that the council made no such decree or decision. Writers like M. Blanc and the "clerical brother" and the editor of the *Christian Advocate* are too fond of using this mode of attack upon us. It would have been as easy and more satisfactory to have referred to the session when the decree was made, to the page of the work in which it might be found, or to the head under which it was classed, as to write the Latin word *expurgati*.

Thus it is very plain that in three paragraphs of this dissertation we have a very large number of glaring misstatements, as well as the manifestation of a desire to destroy the credit of all the ancient witnesses and documents of Church history, merely because they manifestly prove the truth of a fact which our "clerical brother" hates to admit. It is a little extraordinary that men who belong to a Christian society should be so anxious to extinguish all the ancient lights of the Church, and to create a chaos or to leave a blank between the period at which St. Luke concludes his account of the Acts of the Apostles and the present day; or a comparatively recent period.

Having thus shown the disingenuity, the sophistry, and want of honesty of M. Blanc, in his first assertions, I shall proceed to examine another very flippant expression of his *essay:*

"Clement was copied by Eusebius, and the latter has been copied by many authors, ancient and modern, who have been, perhaps, too much interested to render credible a fact which will always be of very little importance to those who build their faith, not on the person of Peter, but upon the corner-stone, Jesus Christ."

In the first place I would remark that I know of no persons who build their faith upon the person of St. Peter. If it be meant to insinuate that Roman Catholics do, the insinuation is untrue. When Christ changed the name of Simon to Peter, or rock, He declared that upon that rock He would build His church, and that the gates of hell should not prevail against it.[1] Roman Catholics believe that our blessed Lord did build His Church upon that Peter or rock, by making Peter its first chief pastor after His own ascension; but he never desired the people to build their faith or belief upon that rock, but upon Jesus Christ Himself. When a Roman Catholic makes an act of faith, he declares that he believes the articles of his religion because God has revealed them; and thus the truth of God is the foundation of his faith. Christ then built the Church upon St. Peter, but Roman Catholics build their faith upon the Saviour Himself.

Eusebius principally used the compilation of Julianus Africanus, and the history of the Church written by St. Hegesippus, the former in his chronicle, the latter, so far as it came, viz., to the year 170, in his history; but he had also in his possession the writings of the various authors above quoted, most of which he cites himself. I would then ask what is to be thought of a man who, like this Monsieur Blanc, boldly makes a grossly untrue assertion—viz., that Eusebius only copied Clement of Alexandria, on this subject, Clement having only copied Papias, and Papias only writing upon a hearsay about eighty years after the death of Peter? Will not all conclude with me,

[1] Matt. xvi. 18.

even before examining the subsequent writers, that this Frenchman was either very ignorant or ——— I shall not write the alternative? I do not like to call men who differ from me beasts, idolaters, unhallowed usurpers, deluders, babblers, unblushing liars, and such other names. I am not sufficiently polished for this; I am a plain republican; I do not like to call nick-names, though I might see that a man writes what he ought not. The history of Eusebius was brought down to the epoch of the defeat of Licinius, in 323; all the authorities which I have quoted, hitherto, were anterior to this event.

IV.

The essayist concedes to us, from that period forward, the host of writers who admit the truth of the fact. However, this concession is made with a very bad grace, for, in the first place, it is asserted that in obedience to a decision of the Council of Trent, their works have been garbled, and in the next place, that the ancient and modern authors who have copied from Eusebius were generally too much interested to render the fact credible. I have already disposed of this first statement.

I shall here make what appears to me a very natural observation. It is conceded by the essayist that at the early period of the fourth century it was publicly stated that St. Peter suffered martyrdom in Rome. He would not, I presume, deny that the Bishops of Rome did at that period claim a supremacy in the Church, because of their being the successors in his See. He would not, I suppose, deny that then, and for many years after, several bishops and their flocks not only submitted to that claim, but strenuously supported it. Consequently, is it not passing strange, that from the mass of ancient authors he cannot cite one passage to question the truth of what all the ancient writers assert? Surely the Council of Trent, which was *opened* in 1545, could not have purged the

Fathers before the time of Arius in 320, of Macedonius in 360, of Nestorius in 430, of Eutyches in 450, of Heraclius in 640, of Constans in 668, of Leo the Isaurian in 740, or of Photius in 880. All those men and their followers and adherents opposed the Bishops of Rome, and were condemned by those prelates. Yet not one syllable do they urge in denial of the martyrdom of Peter at Rome; not one of them attempts to deny the notorious fact that the Bishops of that See were, in their episcopacy thereof, the successors of that Apostle. I presume we shall not be told that those opponents were interested in making it credible.

Shall we be told that the prelates, the divines, and the critics of the Protestant Church of England are interested in rendering it credible? No nation, no Church, can boast of brighter genius, more varied talent, deeper erudition, and more general scholarship, than is to be found in the ratio of their numbers in that national Church. It is true that in the fury of their early efforts against Popery, as was the phrase of the day, neither John Knox in Scotland nor the Mussulman in the East made a more holy havoc of the documents of ancient days. As the Bible with the one and the Koran with the other were the only books which contained true knowledge, and were worthy of the believer's attention, so after being stripped of the mammon of iniquity with which their covers and cases were enriched, whole hecatombs of ungodly parchments were offered as holocausts to the spirit of innovation. Yet still, as the "monkish" collection was immense, and the zeal of the ravagers was after a time restrained, the learned men, who subsequently arose in the English Church, had ample opportunities for indulging their critical and antiquarian research. To the testimony of Archbishop Wake, Bishop Pearson, Dodwell, Cave, and a host of this description, I would merely add the following remark of the acute Whiston:

"Mr. Bower, with some weak Protestants before him, almost pretended to deny that St. Peter was ever in

Rome; concerning which matter take my own former words out of my three Tracts, p. 53. Mr. Baratier proves most thoroughly, as Bishop Pearson has done before him, that St. Peter was at Rome. This is so clear in Christian antiquity, that it is a shame for any Protestant to confess that any Protestant ever denied it. This partial procedure demonstrates that Mr. Bower has by no means got clear of the prejudices of some Protestants, as an impartial writer of history, which he strongly pretends to be, ought to do, and has in this case greatly hurt the Protestant cause instead of helping it." [1]

Baratier was an eminent Protestant divine, whose dissertation was printed at Utrecht in 1740. It is entitled "A Chronological Inquiry about the most ancient Bishops of Rome, from Peter to Victor." In it he demonstrates the fact which had been so ably exhibited in the learned dissertation of Bishop Pearson.

Will it be pretended then that English, French and German Protestant divines are interested in rendering this fact credible? The Rev. M. Blanc is not more opposed to the See of Rome than they were; the *Christian Advocate* is not more inimical to what he and they call Popery than were those writers. But they were men who had read extensively and searched deeply upon the subject.

I shall now adduce the testimony of men whom the essayist would, perhaps, with some show of ground, assert were interested, because they were Roman Catholics. Are we then to reject the evidence furnished by the best witnesses of the brightest days of Christianity merely because it will lead to a conclusion at which some gentlemen do not choose to arrive?

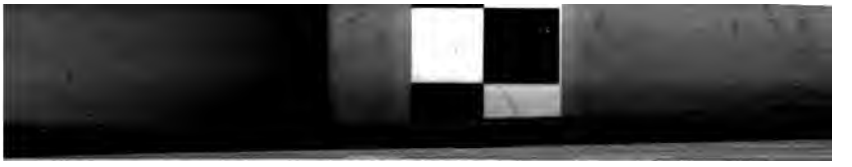
St. Epiphanius was born at Eleutheropolis, in Palestine, in the year 310. In his youth he closely studied the Hebrew, the Egyptian, the Syriac, the Greek, and the Latin languages, for the purpose of being better able to

[1] Mem. of his own life, p. 599.

be found which he had
his reading by travel a
in 403. In his account
is that of Carpocrates, h
were the first in Rome
by stating: "The succes
consecution, Peter and
Evaristus, Alexander," &

This is pretty strong
tensive knowledge and
and protracted, and whose
ample.

St. Jerome was born in
to the year 420, enjoying
tensive information in Ro
other places where the bes
to be found. He writes
studied the liberal arts a
round to visit the tomb
with others of the same



"Simon Peter went to Rome in order to vanquish Simon Magus, and there he held the sacerdotal Chair during twenty-five years, that is, to the fourteenth or last year of Nero, by whom he was fastened to the Cross, and suffered martyrdom, with his head down towards the earth."

In his epistle to Marcella we read the following testimony regarding Rome, which, however, as the centre of former pagan infidelity, he styles the Babylon of the Apocalypse: "There exists the Holy Church; there are the trophies of the Apostles and of the martyrs, there the true confession of Christ, there too the faith preached by the Apostle, and the Christian name daily raising itself on high, having trodden on the Gentile system."

In his epistle I to Pope Damasus, the 37th Bishop of Rome, concerning the name *hypostasis*, he has the following testimony: "I speak with the successor of the fisherman and the Disciple of the Cross; I am joined in communion with your Holiness, that is, to the Chair of Peter."

St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, was born in Gaul in the year 340, where his father, who was at the time prefect of the Prætorium, kept his court. Ambrose himself, when Governor of Liguria and Æmilia, was chosen for the See of Milan and consecrated in the year 374; he died in 397. His instruction was had in Rome, and no person could be more fully qualified than he was by education, by habit, and by principle, to investigate the origin of that Church. It is from his oration against Auxentius which is found in his epistles, lib. 5, that we read one of those accounts of St. Peter, at which the Rev. Monsieur Blanc, the clerical brother, and the *Christian Advocate* would affect to sneer as a "ridiculous tale," "a fable," &c. But my wise friends ought to be aware that we have received the Holy Scriptures, which contain many similar statements, only from the same hands, and by the same testimony which transmits to us those tales and fables, as the sage and critical trio are pleased to designate them.

Being quickly seized up
Lord Jesus."

In his Book III on
the following testimony,
he made a statement: "]
this our assertion Peter
of the Roman Church."

St. Paulinus, Bishop o
parents, at Bordeaux, in
most famous schools, and
talent, fortune, books, and
learned men of his time,
sided. He entered upon
grandeur in the year 390,
and died in 431. In his
the following testimony: "
the sacred monuments of
and in Paul."

St. John Chrysostom wa
Antioch. He

In his Homily 32, on the epistle to the Romans, he states: "The heavens do not shine so brightly when the sun shoots forth his rays, as doth the city of the Romans, pouring out the light of those two lamps through all the world. From this place Paul will be snatched, from this place Peter. Consider, and be astonished what a spectacle Rome will behold, to wit, Paul arising suddenly from the repository together with Peter, and borne upwards to meet the Lord."

Eutropius, an excellent historian born in the same century, who wrote ten books of the history of Rome down to the time of the Emperor Valens, gives the following testimony in his book vii "On the Life of Nero:" "Finally he added this to all his other crimes, that he butchered the holy Apostles of God, Peter and Paul."

St. Sulpicius Severns, of a rich and illustrious Roman family, was born near Toulouse in Aquitain, about the year 360. He was a most acute and eloquent barrister, of extensive reading and deep erudition. Upon the death of his wife he retired and devoted himself altogether to piety and literature. Some writers state that he was ordained priest, but doubts exist upon the subject. He compiled an ecclesiastical history and some works of hagiography. The language of his abridged history, to the year 400, is such as to deserve a comparison in style with best of the earlier ages, and procured for him the appellation of the Christian Sallust. His death occurred about the year 420, when it was generally supposed he was a monk in a monastery, founded near Marseilles, by Cassian, who came thither from Constantinople about twelve years previously. Here is his testimony: "The divine religion had grown strong in the city, Peter being Bishop there, and Paul having been afterwards led to Rome. . . . . Paul and Peter were capitally sentenced, of whom one was beheaded with a sword; Peter was lifted on a cross." [1]

[1] Sac. Hist., lib. 2.

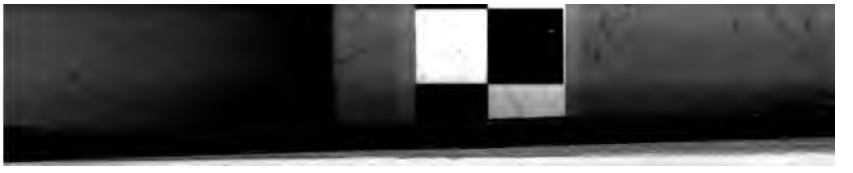
The Emperor Theodosius the Great reigned from 395 to 408, and from his situation must have had good opportunities of knowing the general impression of the wise and the learned of his own day, as well as the history of previous times. This emperor must, if local prejudices or partialities swayed him, have been less disposed to favor Rome than Constantinople. Let us view his testimony given in "G. de summa Trinitate, et fide Catholica, L. cunctos populos:" "We desire all the people who are under the rule of our clemency to be exercised in that religion, whose preservation as yet amongst the Romans declare it to have been to them delivered by the blessed Apostle Peter."

St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, was born at Tagaste in Numidia in the year 354. His education was most carefully looked after, his talents were of the first order, and his research was extensive and accurate. Having been instructed in the Christian doctrine by St. Ambrose, as well as by an aged priest named Simplician, whom Pope Damasus had formerly sent to instruct Ambrose himself, he became a Christian, and was baptized by St. Ambrose, on Easter eve, in the year 387. In the course of two or three years afterwards he was ordained priest, and was consecrated bishop in the year 395, and died in the year 430. I might quote many passages from his voluminous writings to sustain the facts which I here uphold. I shall be content with the following: "Rome commends more solemnly, and with greater celebrity, the merits of Peter and of Paul, because they suffered on the same day."[1] "What hath the Chair of the Church of Rome done to you, that Chair in which Peter sat, and in which Anastasius now sits?"[2]

In his sixteenth epistle, he enumerates the Bishops of Rome from Peter to Anastasius.

Paul Orosius, a learned priest of Tarragona, in Spain, who about the year 416 was in Palestine and in several

[1] Lib. i, c. 10, de consensu. Evangel. [2] Lib. ii, c. 51, contra literas Petiliani.



parts of the most flourishing divisions of the Church, the doctrine and knowledge of which he had fully known, testifies in lib. vii, c. 6 of his history:

"In the beginning of the reign of Claudius, Peter, the Apostle of our Lord Jesus Christ, came to Rome, and by faithful discourse taught the saving faith to all, and approved it by most powerful virtues, and from that time Christians began to be at Rome." . . . . . .

"For Nero first at Rome punished and slew Christians, and endeavoring to extirpate the very name, he put to death the most blessed Apostles of Christ, Peter by the cross and Paul by the sword."

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus, was consecrated in 423; his see was about 80 miles from Antioch. He died in the year 458, before he had reached his 70th year. He was deeply versed in every branch of Syriac, Greek, and Hebrew learning, highly esteemed for his critical and philosophical powers. An unfortunate dispute existed between him and St. Cyril, of Alexandria, legate of Pope Celestine, regarding the personal criminality of Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople; so that Theodoret was no flatterer of the See of Rome. He made a valuable compilation of Church history from the year 324, when Eusebius closed, to the year 429; besides writing several other works. In his Com. on chapter i, to the Romans, we have this testimony:

"The great Peter first gave to them (the Romans) the Gospel doctrine."

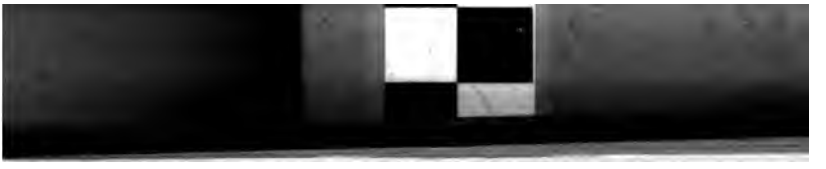
In his epistle to Pope Leo the Great, writing of Rome, he states:

"She possesses the sepulchres of our common Fathers and doctors of the truth, of Peter and of Paul, which illuminate the souls of the faithful." . . . . . .

"They (Peter and Paul) have made your See the more illustrious; this is the sum of your goods. But God hath now also rendered your See bright and worthy of remark, when he hath placed your Holiness in that seat which emits the rays of the orthodox faith."

I could swell this catalogue, but to what purpose? Nothing is more plainly exhibited upon the records of antiquity, in the writings of historians, in the letters of bishops, in the edicts of emperors, in the documents of Churches, in public monuments, in the acts of councils, in the avowal of opponents, than that the blessed Apostle Peter was at Rome, was first Bishop of Rome, and died in that city, being Bishop thereof. Let any man of common discernment now compare the small portion of our evidence which I have adduced, with this miserable sophistry of the lauded Monsieur Blanc of Mens, Isere, and draw his own conclusion.

I have two other points to meet, which, of course, I shall thoroughly discuss, viz., whether by Babylon, St. Peter meant Rome, or the city of Chaldea, or Grand Cairo; and also whether Scripture does not contradict my position. But I was desirous of first giving a small specimen of our tradition, which is so much undervalued by those who have not had the opportunity of knowing the meaning which we attach to the word. With us tradition means conclusive evidence derived from the earliest ages. It might be of very little importance to the essayist, to his clerical brother, and to the *Christian Advocate*, to know what was the doctrine of the true believers of the early ages, the doctrine of those men who alone can be to us the witnesses of the authenticity and the integrity of the holy Scriptures. We pretend to no private inspiration to lead us individually to the knowledge of which book is and which is not canonical. The canon by which the distinction was originally made was found in the judgment and authority of those men who composed the Church of Christ in those primitive ages; the writers whom I have adduced as my witnesses are also the witnesses of their canons. Reject their testimony in one case, and how can you consistently retain it in another? Thus the holy trio destroy the holy Scriptures, and yet they make those Scriptures, which they so destroy, the foundation of their belief!



The host of witnesses adduced by me might indeed have been interested in rendering credible the fact that Peter was at Rome; and I am convinced they were, because they were so interested in rendering truth credible, and they proved their interest by their devotion thereto, exhibited in labors, in self-denial, by splendid virtue, in immense sacrifices, and frequently by martyrdom. But could they create monuments at Rome to commemorate facts which the Roman people knew to be fiction? Could they persuade the world that Peter, who must have died somewhere, and the place of whose death must have been known, did not lie there, but died where he never had been, where no monument was found, no tradition existed, no claim was made? It would be folly in me to enumerate the absurdities which those suppositions would involve. But in calling forward a few from the host at my disposal, I have omitted several of the early Bishops of Rome itself: such as Clement and Anacletus in the first century, men who knew and spoke with Peter at Rome; Marcellus in the third century; Damasus and Innocent, who lived in the fourth; Leo the Great and Gelasius, who are of the fifth century. I have omitted the testimonies of Councils such as that of Sardica in 347 and of Chalcedon in 451. I have ceased to unfold the roll of ages, not because it was deficient in authorities, but because I am convinced that I have exhibited more than enough to satisfy any reasonable person.

If it be said that the Chrysostoms, the Ambroses, the Augustines, the Epiphaniuses, the Jeromes, the Eusebiuses, the Orosiuses, and the other luminaries of that splendid galaxy which marked the Christians' path from earth to heaven with the milk of celestial doctrine in the early days of the Church, were interested in upholding the system to-day called Popery: they who make the assertion identify modern Popery, as they are pleased to call our religion, and the Christian system of the best, the brightest, and the earliest days of the Church. How then, in the name of *consistency, can* we be charged with innovations, when

we desire to be tried by the testimony of those ancient Fathers? How can our separated brethren claim to hold the principles of the primitive Church, when their continual efforts are directed to the destruction or the depreciation of its splendid documents and noble witnesses?

V.

I proceed to examine the next paragraph of Monsieur Blanc's production:

"The tradition of this journey of St. Peter to Rome rests, moreover, upon the supposition that the Babylon, from which he wrote his first epistle, was Rome. Eusebius strengthens this conjecture by saying that Peter 'figuratively called Rome Babylon.' But many learned men with reason maintain that the name Babylon ought to be taken in its proper signification, for Babylon of Chaldea, or that of Egypt, which is now Grand Cairo, where there were many Jews, to whom Peter was specially sent, as St. Paul teaches us, in the second chapter of his epistle to the Galatians."

The second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians states, indeed, a general regulation which was adopted for a division of labor, by which Peter was principally to labor amongst the Jews and Paul principally amongst the Gentiles; but each of them did frequently labor amongst both descriptions.[1] Peter first received Gentiles into the Church, and Paul frequently preached in the synagogues, and even in the city of Rome itself he sought to bring the children of Israel to the knowledge of their Messias. If we look to the Acts of the Apostles, xiii, 14, we shall find abundant evidence of the fact, and verse 46 exhibits that it was not either unusual or accidental. "To you it behoved us to speak first the word of God; but seeing you reject it, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life; behold we turn to the Gentiles." The same principle is exhibited in Acts xvii, 1, 2, 10, 17; xviii, 4, 5, 19; xix, 8; xxviii, 17, 23, 28, &c., as also in many

[1] Acts, x, 45.

other passages. The fact of his addressing an epistle to the Hebrews shows clearly that St. Paul found himself at perfect liberty to seek for their salvation and to bring them into the Christian fold. Hence, upon the same ground, though the principal charge of laboring specially amongst the Jews was assumed by Peter, this selection did not interfere with his concern for the Gentiles. The chapter referred to by the essayist does not, therefore, preclude the laboring of Peter amongst the Gentiles.

I will now suppose that it was the duty of Peter to reside where a large body of Jews had been collected together. I shall adduce testimony to show that there was such an assemblage in Rome. In Josephus[1] we read that when the Jews sent fifty ambassadors to Rome for the purpose of lodging a complaint against the administration of Herod, in the reign of Augustus, there were "above eight thousand of the Jews already at Rome," joined in the commission with those fifty delegates from Palestine. The number of that nation residing in the city about the thirtieth year of the reign of Augustus, which corresponds with the beginning of the Christian era, has been estimated by good statistical antiquarians at considerably upwards of twelve thousand; several of whom would not join in the accusation against Herod, nor in petitioning for the restoration of the Jewish laws. During the forty-three years that intervened between this period and the arrival of Peter, the calamities and dissensions of Judea, as well as the tyranny of the petty rulers by whom it was harassed, caused the emigration of large bodies of its inhabitants, great numbers of whom took up their abode in the capital of the empire; so that in the reign of Caligula, Philo wrote that the larger portion of the city beyond the Tiber was occupied by Jews. Dio, the historian,[2] informs us that in the reign of Claudius, who assumed the imperial purple in the year 41, and died in 54, that emperor found so many of the nation in Rome, that although desirous of

[1] Antiquit., Lib. xvii. c. 11. [2] Lib. 9.

banishing them, he feared to do so, and merely published at first an edict to prohibit their assemblage, lest they should create a sedition. Our statement is, that Peter arrived in this city in the beginning of the reign of Claudius, probably about the middle or latter part of the year 43. There can be no question but that there was then an ample field amongst the Jews in Rome open for his exertions; because probably, at that period, no other city in the universe contained so extensive an assemblage of that nation.

The preaching of this Apostle must have created considerable excitement amongst the Jews, as we may judge by analogy, from the relations given in the Acts of the Apostles. Hence, allowing for the carelessness and contempt with which a Gentile writer usually treated what was called the superstition of the Jews, we can easily find the true meaning of the blunder of Suetonius (in Claudio): "He expelled from Rome the Jews, who were in a continual tumult at the instigation of Chrestus." The explanation is as obvious as it is correct. Though Christ was not there, His Apostle was; and this expulsion, which took place in the ninth year of Claudius, probably caused Peter, who was the leader of the Christians, to leave the city for some time. In examining the circumstances of Babylon and of Grand Cairo, I shall show that in neither place was there any such field open for the labors of this Apostle as there was in Rome; so that it will be clear, the reference to the second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians is a delusion. Even Monsieur Blanc does not venture to assert that when St. Peter wrote "the Church which is in Babylon, elected together, saluteth you, and so doth my son Mark," he did not mean Rome; he merely tells us, that "many learned men with reason maintain that the name of Babylon ought to be taken in its proper signification for Babylon of Chaldea, or that of Egypt, where were many Jews." It is, however, not a little remarkable that those "many learned men," who are all moderns, cannot inform

us from which Babylon it was written, though they are certain that it was not written from Rome; neither do they vouchsafe to conjecture where St. Peter died, though they are convinced that it was not at Rome; nor will they show us where he labored, though verily it could not be at Rome.

I shall now proceed to show sufficient grounds for substituting the word Babylon for Rome, in the epistle itself, by the writer. First, I have already demonstrated that the Jews were banished from the city in the reign of Claudius, because of the tumults occasioned by the introduction of Christianity. They soon began to return, but slowly and privately at first. St. Peter was the most obnoxious personage, as well to the great body of his own nation, as to the rulers of the city; upon which score prudence would suggest that he should not too openly and unnecessarily exhibit to every person that he again resided in that city. Could he find a word designating his abode, to those who would not betray him, and which would not point him out to his opponents, its use would be natural. Such a word was Babylon.

He wrote primarily to converted Hebrews, who had been accustomed to such figures of speech, and who were conversant with the writings of the prophets, in which they abounded. Amongst this people the name of a city or of a region had generally attached an historical recollection, which immediately exhibited what many phrases would be required to describe. Sodom was a city of unnatural crime, Egypt an idolatrous people, Canaan an accursed race, Babylon was the prison of their fathers, the enemy of their nation, the usurper of their rights, the tyrant of their race, the proud and inexorable mistress of their captive rulers. Such also in the days of Peter was pagan Rome; and the Asiatic Jews were so well accustomed to designate that mighty city by the name, that the Evangelist St. John so styles it, amongst other places, in Rev. or Apocal. xiv, 8; *xvi, 19; xvii, 5;* xviii, 2, 10, 21. To support the fact

of their being so accustomed to style Rome, I could produce the testimony of Tertullian, lib. 3, contra Marcion, Andreas and Aretas in Apoc. xvii, St. Jerome in Isaiam xlvi, and xlvii, besides many others, who, together with Papias, Eusebius, and the several early writers, state that St. Peter meant Rome in this first epistle by the word Babylon. Not only has Martin Luther designated the city of Rome by this name, when he compiled his book, "Of the Babylonish Captivity," but hundreds of zealous Protestants perpetually apply to us Romanists, as they call us, all that is written against Babylon in the Revelations. It is to be hoped that the gentlemen do not mean to say and to unsay with the same breath. I will then conclude that Peter had a sufficient cause for styling Rome Babylon, and that in so doing he was intelligible to the persons for whom he wrote.

I might here rest my case, and upon the testimonies of the ancient witnesses assert, that we have in this epistle the declaration of Peter himself, that he was at Rome. Let those who assert that he was the founder of the Church in Babylon of Chaldea, or of that in Grand Cairo, adduce their authorities; let them produce the records of those Churches; let them give to us the catalogue of his successors; let them inform us of the place, the time, the manner of his death; let them refer us to one ancient writer who gives the shadow of a contradiction to my statement, or who affords even the most flimsy basis upon which to rest their conjectures.

I go yet farther, and I ask if it was not written from the Babylon of the Apocalypse, which is Rome, from what Babylon was it written? The answer which I receive is a conjecture. I have produced positive testimony. What species of logic is that which would destroy positive testimony by the conjecture of a possibility? But I yield all this, and proceed to examine the conjectures themselves. In truth the advocates of each will refute the advocates of the other. Those who contend that the epistle was

written from Chaldea state that in the second, which was written from the same place (c. ii, v, 15), the word Bosor is a Chaldaic expression, and that this furnishes evidence sufficient for the residence of the writer. I have but a very passing remark to make upon the extraordinary obstacle. A transcriber might have written Bosor for Beor, by mistake, and the word would then cease to be Chaldaic. Again, between the period when Moses wrote that Balaam was the son of Beor, and the period of Peter's writing his epistles, the Hebrew people had been captives in Chaldea; and long before the Apostle's day, the Syro-Chaldaic had been substituted for the ancient Hebrew. Several pure Chaldaic words were also adopted, of which Bosor might have been one.

The ground next taken by those persons is, that although the Jews of Babylon had been greatly reduced in number by the destructive ravages made upon them under Anileus and Asineus, as well by the Babylonians as by the united Grecks and Syrians, still there were many of them who survived and settled in Chaldea, as the last chapter of Josephus, lib. xviii, exhibits. They also state that there are no grounds whatever for the supposition of those who assert that Peter went into Egypt and there founded a Church at Babylon, now called Grand Cairo. But they think it extremely probable that he who preached in Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, and Cappadocia, did go to Babylon of Chaldea, which was in his vicinity, and came through it to Syria. They say it is on all hands allowed that he was at Antioch, and it is natural to suppose that he went thence to Babylon of Chaldea, where a great number of Jews dwelt, and remained with them for some time.

My readers will observe that all this is merely conjecture and probability, save the assertion that no evidence exists of his having founded a Church in Egypt.

Now, the good gentlemen of the other side assure us that Babylon of Egypt must have been the city of his *sojourn; for they* demonstrate that, at this period, the

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Pliny to show that the city
verging upon ruin and hast
book vii, c. 26, writes, that
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Add to these testimonies t
us in the chapter before c
Anileus and his companions

ish fellow-citizens, of whom they massacred upwards of 50,000. The few survivors then of this nation that yet wept upon the borders of the Euphrates or Tigris, were sheltered in Neerda and in Nisibi. Are we, then, because of the word Bosor is Chaldaic, and because the right of Roman primacy rests upon the fact of Peter's having been at Rome, to declare that because there were Jews in Babylon before the period of their flight and extermination, this Apostle, as being chiefly anxious for their conversion, went to dwell in a city where scarcely one of that nation had remained?

Surely, though that destruction should not even have taken place previous to the writing of this epistle, and though we should not have good reason to know that St. Peter and his brethren were guided by the prophetic spirit to which futurity is open, still we must acknowledge that he and they received from on high light to understand the Scriptural prophecies; and he needed only to look through the book of Isaias to be convinced that, "Babylon, the oppressor, should come to nothing," xvi, 4. "Its pride should be brought down to hell," v, 11. "Its name was to be destroyed, the remains, the bud, and the offspring," v, 22. "It was to be made a possession for the ericus and pools of waters—it was to be swept and worn out with a besom," v, 23. "It was to be destroyed like Sodom and Gomorrah," xiii, v, 19. "It should not be inhabited forever, neither should the Arabian pitch his tent there, nor shepherds rest there," v, 20. "But wild beasts should rest there, the houses should be filled with serpents, ostriches should dwell there, and the hairy ones should dance there," v, 21. "Owls should answer one another in it," v, 22. And yet, with this prophecy under his eye, and the proof of its beginning to be accomplished in full evidence before him, the holy trio would, against its own judgment and the evidence of all antiquity, send Peter to Chaldea, that they might keep him out of Italy! *Admirable critics!* Profound antiquarians! Learned com-

mentators! If farther evidence was required of the prophecies, it might be easily found in chapter xxi of the same prophet, in Jeremias, chap. l, li, and in several other places. From these topics, I conclude that Peter could not have written from Babylon in Chaldea, for his residence in which we have not a particle of evidence, nor any evidence of a Church existing there in his day, nor any likelihood of his going thither

M. Blanc states, that in the Egyptian Babylon there "were many Jews to whom Peter was specially sent." If by "many Jews" he means such a number as a few thousands, the information is quite new to me. This city was called *Bubasticus*, in the Nomos Heliopolitis, and is now probably the city of Grand Cairo. It was built by a Persian colony after the subjugation of Egypt by Cambyses, about 500 years before the period of Peter's writing. In the time of Strabo, which was a little previous to the days of this Apostle, it was considered chiefly as a strong citadel, which formed a good garrison for one of the Roman legions then sent to guard Egypt (Strabo lib. xvii); but we are left without any information of its being a place in which either Jews or Christians dwelt in any numbers during more than four centuries later than this period. Indeed, the Jews of Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and generally of Asia Minor, knew very little, if anything, of this distant city of Egypt. According to this view, which is the best that I can give of the Egyptian Babylon, there appears nothing to support the assertion of the essayist, that in this city there "were many Jews to whom Peter was specially sent." Thus, without evidence of the fact, without any probable grounds even for conjecture, merely because of the name of Babylon and the dislike to Rome, we are to cast away the testimony of the ancient witnesses and to place the Apostle in Grand Cairo!

It is natural to presume that, if he had been there, a Christian Church would have existed in this city, yet of *this* we have no evidence. Even Spanheim, a learned

Protestant divine, with all his research, could not discover an earlier Bishop of Grand Cairo than Cyrus, whose name is mentioned in the first proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon, in 451. Baronius, however, will have it that Zosimus, who lived under the Emperor Justin the younger, about a century later than that period, is the first. I shall grant Spanheim the benefit of his discovery, but how far will it bring his party on their way? To this I shall add a remark of Calmet, which has great force. Suppose Rome to be out of the question, and the word Babylon written as the place of the writer's abode; would not those persons who lived in the vicinity of this ancient metropolis, and who scarcely knew of the Egyptian city, naturally look to the Chaldean, unless some guarded phrase or well-known circumstance corrected their mistake? Yet here is no such phrase, and if any such circumstance existed, it must have been known to the early writers, some one of whom would have thrown light upon the subject, and prevented the supposed delusion under which all Christians labored during so many centuries, in believing the Babylon of St. Peter to be the Babylon of St. John. These few testimonies and observations will show why I state that Peter, by writing from Babylon, informs us that he writes from Rome, and not from a city on the Euphrates, the Tigris, or the Nile. Upon these grounds, I assert that in the Scripture itself, and under Peter's own hand, we have evidence of his having been in Rome.

I shall here introduce the testimony of the learned Hugo Grotius, who, though not within the pale of our communion, gave strong evidence in our favor on more subjects than the present. In his remarks upon this epistle he states:

"The ancient and the modern interpreters differ concerning Babylon. The ancients interpret it to be Rome, where no true Christian will doubt that Peter was; the moderns, Babylon in Chaldea; I agree with the ancients."

Some few gentlemen, not being able to get over the difficulties of Babylon upon the Euphrates nor of Babylon upon the Nile, have recollected that Seleucia was also called by this ominous name; but I suspect that Seleucia might have been considered as altogether placed beyond our question after the massacre of 50,000 Jews and the flight of the remainder to Neerda and to Nisibi. But a French Protestant divine, Louis Capelle, who died in 1658, not satisfied with either of the above conjectures, and of all things disliking to go to Rome, fixed upon Jerusalem as the Babylon of Peter, because there Christ was slain and the Apostles persecuted. My object, however, being only to discharge the task which I have undertaken, that is, to examine M. Blanc's dissertation, I shall not go out of it into extraneous topics to quarrel with Mr. Capelle.

VI.

I now proceed to examine the question, whether the Scriptures, as quoted by Monsieur Blanc, contradict our statement, which consists of three distinct propositions, viz.: 1. That St. Peter the Apostle was at Rome. 2. That he was Bishop of that city. 3. That he, being its Bishop, suffered martyrdom there.

This writer does not adduce any distinct passage of the Scriptures which denies or is incompatible with either or the whole of our three propositions; but he assumes, by a chronological arrangement which is unwarranted, that some Scriptural statements, whose truth we admit, are irreconcilable with the truth of our positions. It would, therefore, be well for us to have accurate notions of what we assert, so that we may be able to distinguish what we require and support, from what it is assumed we contend for. In the first place, though I believe that St. Peter went to Rome in the first or second year of the reign of the Emperor Claudius, if not in the last year of Caligula; it will be sufficient for my purpose if I prove that he was there only twenty-one or twenty-four years after, viz., in the

latter part of the reign of Nero; for if he was then put to death, being Bishop of Rome, our three propositions will stand, and his office was to be continued in that city, unless, what is not pretended, he transferred it elsewhere. What says M. Blanc?

"The best Catholic ecclesiastical writers put the martyrdom of Stephen in the seventh year after the death of Jesus Christ; in other words, A. D. 40. The conversion of St. Paul, at soonest, happened this year. Thus we see seven years already past. At this epoch, St. Peter was still at Jerusalem with the other Apostles; and not until some time afterwards, he was sent with St. John to strengthen the Samaritans, who had been converted by the ministry of St. Philip. 'Now when the Apostles who were at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the Word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John,' (Acts viii, 14). At this epoch, Peter was still under the authority of the Apostolical college; it was only five or six hundred years afterwards, that he seized upon the sovereign power, in the person of his successors. After the conversion of St. Paul, we find St. Peter at Lydda, where he cured Eneas, (Acts ix, 32–34); at Joppa, where he raised Dorcas from the dead, (ix, 36–41); at Cæsarea, where he converted Cornelius, (x). Upon the report spreading that Peter had eaten with the Gentiles, he returns to Jerusalem, and vindicates himself before 'them that were of the circumcision,' (xi). This journey of Peter, his preaching in the provinces of Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, his abode at Joppa, and the other events which St. Luke relates, occupy a space of three years (A. D. 43). We learn that the Christians, dispersed on occasion of the death of Stephen, had carried the good savor of the Gospel to Antioch. Thither Barnabas was immediately sent, who, seeing the grace of God, departed to Tarsus, to seek Paul (Acts ix, 25), and bring him to Antioch, where they remained 'a whole year,' (xi, 26 A. D. 44). About this time the famine predicted by Agabus should be placed, the martyrdom of St. James, the impris-

onment of St. Peter, and his remarkable deliverance (Acts xii). Thus far St. Peter is constantly found in Judea, not manifesting upon any occasion the desire of going to Rome; and why should he have gone thither, since that city fell not within his charge? St. Paul says positively: 'The Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the Gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; for He that wrought effectually in Peter to the Apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me towards the Gentiles—James, Cephas, and John, gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that we should go unto the heathen and they unto the circumcision.' (Gal. ii, 7-9). St. Paul, three years after his conversion, going up to Jerusalem to carry the alms of the Christians of Antioch and the circumjacent places, met Peter there, with whom he remained fifteen days. (Acts xi, 30; Gal. i, 18). He went up thither a second time, fourteen years afterwards, Gal. ii, 1), and there he still met with Peter and his principal colleagues, (v. 9, A. D. 58). Behold, then, Peter constantly at Jerusalem, seven years—ten years—twenty-five years, after the death of Jesus Christ. If we read with a little attention the eleventh verse of this second chapter of the epistle to the Galatians, it appears that it was not till after this time that St. Peter went to Antioch, where, it is pretended, this Apostle occupied the episcopal chair for seven years; which would be still so many to be deducted from his pretended residence at Rome."

It is perhaps cruel to take this little scrap of chronology to pieces, but so it is, that my conviction imposes upon me the task. Now it is very well ascertained that in the various systems of calculation, there exists a difference of from four to five years between the computation of our era and the true period of the birth of our Redeemer. For this a very sufficient cause is obvious. The computation by the Christian era was not immediately commenced: *indeed* it was only in 527 of our common era, which was *the last year* of the Eastern Emperor Justin I, that Dionysius

Exiguus, a learned Scythian, who was an abbot in Rome, published a paschal cycle, in which he began his computations by taking the first of January next after the birth of our Saviour, for the commencement of his first year. The venerable Bede, who compiled a learned work, "*De Temporum ratione*," in 731, uses a different computation; for he begins his reckoning, which was continued by several until lately, from the 25th of March previous to the birth of Christ, that is, the day of the enunciation, so that what he would call the first of April, 732, would by Dionysius be called 731. Some moderns have yet more perplexed the subject by speculations which they miscall "historical philosophy." We have, however, two excellent checks in the list of consuls and in the testimony of the early Christian Fathers. By accurately examining we find, that by the computation upon those principles, our present era is, as has long been acknowledged, upwards of four years too late. According to the computation of Varro, Christ was born in the consulship of Augustus (12) and L. Crn. Sulla, or the fortieth of the reign of Augustus, A. U. C. 749; he was baptized in his thirtieth year, and was crucified on the 25th of March, in the thirty-third year of his age, of the common era 29, in the consulship of the two Gemini. Amongst other authorities for this are Tertullian, adv. Jud. c. 8; St. Augustin, lib. xviii, c. 54, "De civitate Dei;" Victor Aquitanus; the Liberian calendar, etc. This was in the year 15 of Tiberius reigning alone; which statement is also supported by Lactantius, lib. iv, c. 10, St. Prosper, etc. Having thus regulated the mode of computing by the vulgar era, I have to state that the erudite gentleman has not vouchsafed to give us the names of "the best Catholic writers." How fond he is of turning our forces against ourselves! "Who place the martyrdom of St. Stephen in the year 40." I must adhere to those whom I have read, and place it in the same year that our Saviour was crucified. In doing this, I shall be supported, amongst others, by the learned Protestant

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years after this," not his conversion, but his return to Damascus, he went to Jerusalem and stayed fifteen days with Peter (Galat. i, 18). Now according to M. Blanc this might well have occurred previous to Peter's fixing his See at Antioch, or if we state this visit to have been in the year 37, as it is made by some who say that Paul did not return to Damascus until 33, Peter, though Bishop of Antioch, might have been on a visit in Jerusalem.

M. Blanc, however, has to account in this place for a contradiction of his own to Paul, who, in Gal. i, informing us of his first visit to Jerusalem, states the object of his journey was "to see Peter," and this previously to his having been called by Barnabas to Antioch; yet M. Blanc tells us, that this is the same visit of which mention is made in Acts xi, 30, whereas the whole body of ancient witnesses as well as St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles testify that they were different visits. Paul's object in his epistle to the Galatians was not to state all the visits which he had paid to Jerusalem, but to state those by occasion of which he met any of the other Apostles in that city; and as the object of his first journey was "to see Peter," the object of his next was to carry alms. We are not then to confound both journeys as the essayist does, but to distinguish them, as the ancients and the Scriptures have done.

But why, if his object was truth, does the writer pass over chap. ix of the Acts, in which mention is made of this first visit? Why does he at once bring us to chap. xi where the second visit is related? In his epistle to the Galatians Paul states that after his conversion he went into Arabia and returned to Damascus, three years after which he went up to "see Peter," who was in Jerusalem. In Acts ix, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, we are told by St. Luke how he went from Damascus to Jerusalem. In this same place we are informed of the manner in which he was sent from that city to Cæsarea and Tarsus; there he *is left, until we find* in Acts xi, 25, that he is brought

to Antioch, and then, in v, 30, he makes another journey from Antioch to Jerusalem.

But the good gentleman has so prettily attempted to interweave facts separated by years, and to transpose their order, that I must here stop to replace them. The first visit of Paul to Jerusalem was fourteen years previous to his second meeting of Peter in that city. (Gal. ii, 1). Paul was not at Antioch before his calling on Peter in the third or fourth year after his return to Damascus; neither did he go from Jerusalem to Antioch at this time, but was brought by the disciples into regions which he mentions in Gal. i, 21, Cilicia and Syria. Having tarried in those regions during three or four years, and his aid being called for in Antioch subsequently to the dispersion of the other Apostles and the departure of Peter from that city, he in the beginning of the reign of Claudius accompanied Barnabas thither; because of the necessities of that Church, arising from the large number of converts. (Acts xi, 25, 26, etc). The time is here marked by the sacred writer in verses 27 and 28. Claudius began his reign as we see in 41. There is nothing in the Bible to prevent our asserting that at this same period Peter was cast into prison in Jerusalem and miraculously delivered, as related in Acts xii, previously to his going to Rome; and that he occasionally visited the East so as to have met Paul again in Jerusalem in 51. However, I shall, instead of those surmises lay down what appears to be the general testimony of all the ancient writers, viz.: That Peter founded the See of Antioch in the year 33, and occasionally visited Jerusalem and the neighboring regions; that in 37, when he was at Jerusalem, he was visited by Paul, who went thence to Cilicia and its vicinity, and that Peter having gone to Rome in 40, Paul was about 41 or 42 brought by Barnabas to labor for a time in Antioch; that Peter, having returned to visit the East, was cast into prison by Herod in Jerusalem in 44, and escaped as related in Acts xii, and going back to Rome, remained

until the expulsion under Claudius in 49; when returning a second time to the East, he was at Jerusalem at the council in 51 (Acts xv), where Paul met him the second time, fourteen years after their first interview. But in the meantime whilst Peter was absent on his second visit to the West, in the end of 44 or 45, Paul had been to Jerusalem with the alms from Antioch and other places. (Acts xi, 30).

I am here obliged to notice another instance in which the essayist asserts incompatibilities. He states that Barnabas was sent to Antioch immediately after the dispersion of the Christians, upon the death of Stephen. I shall merely remark that St. Luke's object in this chapter evidently is to follow up the account which he had given in chap. x, and the first part of chap. xi, of the admission of Gentiles into the Church. Hence he treats the subject historically and apart, without interweaving it with the other occurrences. A single observation will show this to be a correct statement. The conversion of St. Paul did not occur until after the increase of the Christians, by reason of their first dispersion upon the death of Stephen. (Acts viii, 1 to 5). Now between the statement in this passage and its repetition, so far as regarded a particular place, viz., Antioch, in Acts xi, 19, a great many occurrences, which occupied several years, are summarily related without mentioning the exact order of their dates. It was not until some years after the death of Stephen that Cornelius was received into the Church, as related in Acts x. Peter's explanation followed this occurrence, and then the sacred historian, having mentioned this account and decision of Peter, reverts to the former period of several years previous, for the purpose of showing how the Church of Antioch had a great number of converts, and to continue therein the history of St. Paul, which occupies the chief share of his attention thenceforth. Hence it would be absurd to state that the occurrence related in the 19th *verse immediately* followed that whose relation had been

closed in the 18th. It is equally clear that the transactions related in verses 19, 20, 21 and 22, took up several years. In verse 19 it is plain that the first disciples preached only to the Jews at Antioch. It is obviously clear from chap. xi, 1, 2, 3, that the Apostles and brethren who were in Judea, did not look upon themselves as authorized to receive the Gentiles into the Church until after they had received the explanation of St. Peter. It is only in verse 18 we find their first recognition of the principle that they might be received. They could not, therefore, have previously sent Barnabas to Antioch, and this recognition having been some years after the death of Stephen, they could not have sent Barnabas thither immediately after his death, as M. Blanc says they did. But suppose this difficulty now removed, still Barnabas could not have found Saul in Tarsus, until after his conversion, his return from Arabia to Damascus, his journey three years afterwards to Jerusalem, and his going thence to Cæsarea and Tarsus, in which place he tarried for some considerable time. So that if Paul came to Antioch in 44, as we believe he did, and soon after the arrival of Barnabas, as was the fact, this latter could not have gone thither before 42 or 43, at which period Peter, having left Antioch, was in Rome, or on his way thence back to Asia. We shall also find time for him previously to have spent three years in his visits through the regions mentioned in Acts viii, ix, x and xi, besides seven years being permitted to elapse from his having fixed his See in Antioch, until his departure for Rome; and we can easily conceive that within those seven years he might frequently have visited Jerusalem, on one of which occasions St. Paul paid him a visit of fifteen days, in the year 37. M. Blanc, then, besides suppressing the reference to this visit, which is related in Acts ix, endeavors to confound it with that mentioned in Acts xi, and makes the statement in Galatians i, refer to the latter, when in fact it refers to the former; thus endeavoring to destroy the evidence of one of those journeys. The next

against all the ancient witnesses, defers the martydom of Stephen full seven years, and omits to correct the calculation of the era by upwards of four years, so as to throw twelve years out of the account. Then to give a color of truth to his statements, he makes the Apostles send Barnabas to Antioch immediately after the death of Stephen, when it is evident that such could not have been their procedure for several years thereafter; and he makes Barnabas bring Paul from Tarsus within a year or two after the death of the first deacon, when it is manifest, from the accounts of Paul himself and of Luke, that this could not have occurred at the soonest before the lapse of from eight to twelve or thirteen years after that period. Again, the essayist assumes that because Peter was twice met at Jerusalem by Paul, he could not in the fourteen years which elapsed between those interviews have been at Antioch and at Rome.

You will then perceive that our distribution of Peter's time creates no difficulty in explaining all the passages of St. Luke, whilst it also agrees with all the accounts of the ancient writers. Whereas M. Blanc's mode of mixing up and confounding dates and facts makes Scripture contradict itself, and it also contradicts all the ancient witnesses.

Why Peter should go to Rome, even for the sake of the Jews, if for no other cause, I have already shown. That he went to Antioch after the Council of Jerusalem, which was held in 51, that is, fourteen years after 37, we also freely admit, and that for his imprudence he was admonished by St. Paul, I also believe, though several good critics are of opinion that the Cephas mentioned in Galat. ii, 14, and who was reproved was not St. Peter, but another disciple. My own opinion, however, is in unison with that of the great body of commentators, that it was St. Peter the Apostle who was so admonished, though in verse 8, speaking of the Apostle, the writer calls him Peter, and in the next verse he mentions James, Cephas and John, whereas it is not an unusual mode thus to write *of the same person*, almost in the same line, by two

different names. However, suppose it be Peter; his being now at Antioch does not argue that he had not been previously there and also at Rome; so that hitherto, as you will have perceived, the difficulties and contradictions are on the side of our opponents. I shall have to reduce his A. D. 58 to A. D. 51.

"But this is not all. St. Paul wrote to the Romans in the year 57 or 58, about twenty-five years after the death of Jesus Christ. At this very time St. Peter ought to have been at Rome, or never. Meanwhile St. Paul glories in being especially their Apostle: 'I speak to you Gentiles, inasmuch as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify mine office.' If St. Peter had been settled and acknowledged as their proper Apostle or bishop for several years past, would it not have been great arrogance in Paul to deprive him, after some sort, of his title and character? Above all, would it not have been great injustice to say, 'From Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the Gospel of Christ. Yes, so I have strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation?' (Rom. xv, 19, 20). How then should he think of going to Rome, if St. Peter had already built there the first Church of the world?"

What I have stated in my last section answers this.

"Why, in the long detail of salutations, which fill almost the whole chapter of this epistle, is there no mention made of the great head of the universal Church? In A. D. 60, when Paul arrived at Rome, he called together the principal Jews that were in the city (Acts xxviii, 17), without supposing himself to usurp the rights and the authority of the Prince of the Apostles, without even thinking of St. Peter, who beyond controversy would have been of the greatest utility to him in his bonds. (A. D. 62). St. Paul remained two whole years in Rome (Acts xxviii, 30); he wrote from thence divers letters to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and the Philippians; all these letters show

with the salutations of the principal Christians of that famous city, and nowhere do we find a single word of St. Peter. How shall this silence be accounted for (consistently with Peter's supposed presence at Rome)? Truly, I should be curious to know. 'Aristarchus' (it is said in the Epistle to Colossians, ch. iv, 10, 11), 'my fellow-prisoner—and Marcus, sister's son to Barnabas—and Jesus, who is called Justus, who are of the circumcision: these only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God, who have been a comfort to me.' Mark well the words 'these ONLY.' How injurious to St. Peter, if he had been at Rome!"

To this mighty query a short reply will be sufficient. 1. That St. Peter, being frequently absent from the city of Rome, might to the knowledge of Paul himself have been elsewhere at the very time that he wrote his epistle; or that Phebe, who perhaps was the bearer of the letter to the Romans, was to deliver it to Peter, if in the city, and he was to make the salutations. The omission of the name of Peter is therefore no evidence that this was not his See. The same might be said of the omission of the names of other known prelates in other epistles. 2. That although the ordinary successors of Peter were to enter upon his full rights as head of the Church, the extraordinary mission which each Apostle had specially and immediately from Christ was not under Peter's control, but the extraordinary commission of each Apostle was to expire with himself, and the surviving pastors were to be subordinate to the successor of Peter. Such is the testimony of antiquity, and this supported by the testimony of facts, in those early days. Hence there was no necessity for any one of the Apostles to apply to his brother for a power which they both possessed in common, viz., that of preaching and administering by the commission of Jesus Christ to the whole world. 3. The Jews whom St. Paul called to him at Rome were those who did not belong to the Church, *but who were* in communion with those who opposed *Paul himself in the* East; and a very sufficient reason is

found for his not calling upon Peter, either in the fact his absence from the city, for he spread the faith in s eral other parts of Italy, and in other regions farther W —or if he was in the city, in the fact of his being n obnoxious to the unconverted Jews, who and whose fatl had been banished, because of the tumults caused by former preaching, about eleven years before. This will account for the mighty word ONLY, without being an putation upon the zeal of Peter.

One objection only remains.

"Arrived, for the second time, at Rome, A. D. 65 66, and the 10th or 11th of the reign of Nero. He then put in so close a prison that Onesiphorus c scarcely find him (2 Tim. i, 17), and the persecution so great, that he wrote to his dearly beloved pupil, T othy, (2 Tim. iv, 16), that 'no man stood with him, all men forsook him.' Would not this have been a eulogy on St. Peter, if he had been at Rome? Let farther observe, that this Apostle, to whom was commi the circumcision, as we have remarked above, never w an epistle to the Romans; that he never speaks of tl in the two letters which we have from him; and that, writing the second, to the same Churches to which he written the first, (2 Peter, iii, 1), he speaks to them aware that he would shortly quit this earthly taberna (2 Pet. i, 14). Let us finally remark that St. P although near his departure from this world, salutes faithful only on the part of Marcus his son, (1 Pet. 13), without speaking of St. Paul, whose companion martyrdom some would have him to be."

St. Peter's eulogy is found in his imprisonment; and neither Paul nor any person save Mark could appro him, it accounts for the omission of all other names indeed it is necessary to account for the omission. M sieur Blanc, who ridicules the notion of Nero's permitt St. Peter to request that his crucifixion might take p with his head downwards, would indeed have room to

jocularity, were we to state that he permitted him and Paul, upon the eve of their martyrdom, to consult together upon the form of an exhortation of perseverance to a people whom he had doomed to extermination!

I have done with M. Blanc. Allow me to sum up my statements. I have shown that there is nothing in Scripture to interfere with the testimony of Peter's having been Bishop of Rome and suffering martyrdom in that city. I have shown that a host of ancient testimony and modern criticism of the opponents as well as the friends of the Bishops of Rome sustain the facts. I have shown that if we reject this testimony we must reject the Bible, because we receive the sacred volume only through similar, I might say, the same witnesses. I have shown that M. Blanc's theory, besides contradicting St. Paul and St. Luke, contradicts itself, whilst our statement is free from any such difficulty. I have shown numerous and important assertions of his to be contrary to the fact.

THE IRISH FRANCHISE.[1]

I.

My Dear Friend:—I have waited until the account of the failure of your hopes reached me. Having now ascertained that the British House of Lords has rejected the Emancipation Bill, I address myself to you. To you who know so well my convictions and sentiments, upon the great question of your rights, it will be subject of little wonder to learn, that I have been more gratified at the failure of this bill, than I would have been at its success. I believe you differ with me in the conclusion, although I have no doubt we agree in principle. My object in thus publicly addressing you, is to show to those who may read what I publish, in what we differ, and where I conceive you have greatly mistaken, or where I am very much in error. As regards me, placed where I now am, my views, my opinions, and my acts regarding my native country are matter of no moment, yet still I will not yield to you in love of Ireland. Not so with you; every thought, opinion, or act of yours is important, has great influence, and in a certain crisis might determine the fate of Erin. When I address you then, I have in view to rouse you, by our former ties and still subsisting friendship, to examine carefully which of us is wrong; when I call upon you thus publicly it is to induce some of our former fellow-laborers, from whose memory my name is perhaps not yet obliterated, to guard their judgments against the influence of your name, which they would be ungrateful

[1] This series of letters was addressed to Daniel O'Connell by Bishop England, who, while in Ireland, was the Liberator's right hand, remonstrating against the Irish statesman's attitude towards the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholders of Ireland as a compensation for Catholic Emancipation. They were published first in 1825.

if they did not revere; but though you are my friend and their benefactor, your judgment is not infallible. And I trust I am able to say with justice of myself, "amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica Veritas." A further object which I propose to attain by publishing at this side of the Atlantic, is, that as the question of Irish wrongs begins deeply to interest the people of America, they may be able to learn the true state of the question, and not be misled by the garbled extracts which many of our editors make from the dishonest publications of the British press. You can have no idea of the very imperfect notions which men, otherwise extremely well informed, have of the religious and political state of Ireland.

You are fully aware that I have had equal opportunities with most others of knowing all the bearings of the Catholic question; that I had better opportunities than many others of knowing the state of the freeholders. I know their misfortunes, their temptations, and their conduct. Few could know as well as I did what sort of men were the Catholic clergy, and you and I have not unfrequently conversed upon the subject of their being paid salaries by the crown. The few years which have passed away since I sat with you at the same board, took part in the same debates, and since we both habitually made those topics the subject of our anxious thought and confidential communications, can not have produced so great an alteration in their circumstances as to have rendered me unfit to question you a little regarding their present state and your late conduct.

There are three topics of matter. 1. The relief of the Catholics. 2. The modification of the elective franchise. 3. The payment of the clergy. There are four descriptions of persons to be contemplated. 1. The Catholics of the British Empire; perhaps we had as well confine our view to those alone of Ireland. 2. The Irish nation, or rather the Irish province of the British Empire; fuimus Troes. 3. The government of Great Britain. 4. The people of the *British nation.*

The papers here have represented you as anxious for the relief of the Catholics; indeed it would be strange if you were not, it would be strange if every Catholic, if every lover of Ireland, if every lover of civil and religious liberty, if every just man were not. You sought it upon that principle which always led you to seek it, and were I to make an unnecessary and profane oath as did that ill-advised and infatuated Duke of York, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, I could upon the most solemn and sacred pledge aver that I have never known any Roman Catholic seek it upon any other principle. The principle is that of the great, good, venerable, liberal, and charitable Protestant Bishop of Norwich; a principle which, as you have frequently expressed yourself, would give emancipation to the Catholic in Great Britain, (let me add in North Carolina and New Jersey), to the Protestant in Spain, and to the Christian in Constantinople. The principle is that although God will in another state of existence punish the criminal unbeliever, He has given to no man, to no body of men, power to punish him in this present state of existence for mere disbelief of doctrine; but that He has left conscience free as regards society, though bound as regards Himself. This is the principle of religious liberty, not the principle of irreligious licentiousness. Persecution has frequently made hypocrites; I doubt whether it ever made a convert. Hypocrisy is a crime of the highest order, and though instances might be adduced where persecution made converts, the means should be lawful before they could be applied to produce the effect.

The relief bill brought in by Sir Francis Burdett, which was passed by the British House of Commons, and lost in the British House of Lords, was a bill which would, if carried, indeed have emancipated the Irish Catholics and brought great blessings of tranquility, contentment, industry, and happiness to Ireland; perhaps it might not have answered the purposes of the British government, but it would undoubtedly have strengthened and comforted the

British nation. Had this been the only measure contemlated, every good man would have desired its success and ould have regretted its failure. But to confine our views this bill would be looking at the question very imperctly; it was but the first of three terms of a compound um: To the casual observer, the parts appeared separable, ut upon closer inspection the delusion was apparent and ie crotchets of the statesman bound them inseparably gether. We must not then view the benefits of the one ithout examining the evils of the others; the deduction to e made by the second quantity, which was negative, might e greater than the positive amount of benefit conferred by ie first, and although the third term was positive too, when xamined it might be found to result in the bestowing of ositive evil. One of our American sages relates of himself iat when a boy, being very anxious to procure a whistle, e thoughtlessly gave to an urchin who observed his anxiety nsiderably more than its value. Young Franklin was nused for a time with the sounds, but when the charms of velty had vanished and he had made some inquiries, he iscovered that he had given a great deal too much for his histle. Believe me, my friend, Mr. Canning observed your ixiety, and he knows very well how to sell a whistle.

The newspapers stated that you were favorable to the bill r disfranchising the forty shilling freeholders in the counties, id making the lowest qualification in those counties ten ounds yearly freehold interest. What a crowd of times id places, and persons and conversations, and speeches and nsultations, rushed upon my mind! I know what the ritish press is. I know one of its principles is to vilify, traduce, to calumniate, and to misrepresent you, and very one who stood on the same side that you did, and bepraise, magnify, and extol all our opponents from our ositive enemies, the Duke of York, the Dublin aldermen, ord Bandon's little corporation, and the 'prentice boys of erry, up to our superlative enemies, Mr. Canning, and im whom it would delight to have maces laid before him

I began to fee
paper and I found what
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known principles in you
universal suffrage. I have
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ons. The sons and survivors of the more fortunate, ough infinitely less numerous portion, formed a sort of atholic aristocracy, and not content with being always mplimented by the people with the first place in their fections and esteem, and preferred to the men of sound nse and strong nerve, whom the people made their asso- ates, the natural leaders affected great prudence and oderation, and in proportion as they were permitted to sit the clerks of the lord lieutenant's secretary, they were served to dislike the agitators, as they called their asso- ates. They at length withdrew from the agitators; the vernment presses praised the natural leaders; their super- ive enemies, that is, the *soi disant* friends of the Catholics, ook hands with the natural leaders, and were shocked the rudeness of the agitators. A few close meetings of e seceders took place; though you, my friend, were the ince of agitators, you were induced to attend. Your otives were good. The people were astonished to see you those close meetings which they called the Divan. Indeed, my recollection serves me right, you told me you scarcely ere conscious of your personal identity at those meetings. at you discovered that their principles and ours were sentially at variance. We both sought emancipation; this as the object of the agitator, this was the object of the tural leader. But we disagreed in this: the agitator ould give nothing but gratitude and loyalty to the govern- ent which would do him justice; the natural leader ould give something else. The one begged for his right a boon, and would be grateful for what would be corded. He said: "All is due, but I shall be grateful r anything which you bestow; you shall have my fidelity d my thanks; I have no more to give." The other ked in the same way, but added: "Besides fidelity and atitude, I am ready to go as far as I can, in taking mething from popular rights, and adding this to the erogative of the crown."

You could not betray your country, you would not do . *One or two of* our little poets sung; you recognized

the notes; your soul became enamored with the melody; you fluttered round your cage; you found an aperture, and we soon heard you warbling your harmonious effusions, full of life and joy and the pride of liberty, in our own green bower. These days, my friends, were days of trial, but they were days of pleasure, too. My eye fills, my heart grows soft, and I fancy myself thousands of miles hence, when memory brings me back amongst you. I recollect the cold prudery of the heartless Judge Downes, when he committed murder upon Irish-English, and solemnly told a jury, upon his oath, that pretence and purpose were synonymous in Ireland, and a Dublin jury swore that his lordship's inconsistencies were good grammar; though you know the jury was a selection of your beggarly Dublin corporation, who would not have committed even a venial sin, in the breach of every rule of Louth's grammar, because "nemo tenetur ad impossibile." I recollect Lord Manner's solemn visage. Even Mr. Saurin glides before my eye in the domination of ascendancy, in the semblance of evangelical meekness; but his distended bag yawns like the insatiable grave, and desires to bring down all that dared to aspire to freedom, into the same prison-house with the beggar and the vagrant, and the thief and the felon, to prove that all men are equal; and that the law is just which says, that he who will not swear what he does not believe, shall be persecuted, whilst the perjurer shall be his judge. Yes, in all this there is a comfort which no one can describe; but which the victim of such men feels. You, and I, and our associates, have felt it, when in the disquisition of our wrongs we measured how far principle extended, and drew our line beyond which no one was to go, within which no stranger was to be admitted. Each of us was to be prepared for his dungeon, because no one of us knew who would be its first tenant. And the triumvirate to which I have alluded, together with Mr. Peel, charitably intended its benefit for us all. In such a time as this, Daniel O'Connell was teaching us

the nature of feudal tenure, the origin of freehold, the mode in which it might be acquired, secured, and extended. When our vessel was just settling down upon the quiescent sea, the storm having wasted its fury, the waves having nearly subsided; when our flags and sails and smaller cordage had been torn from our masts, and those masts themselves had been kept in their place, only by the newly acquired bracings of the elective franchise, what would Daniel O'Connell have said to the man who would request of him an axe, that he might cut away some of those shrouds and stays, which had withstood the fury of the tempest, in which our royals and topgallants had been blown away?

You told the committee that you preferred universal suffrage. Granted; but when you found your superlative enemies about to give Catholic emancipation and to diminish popular rights, and when the vigilant Lawless called upon the people to protect their rights, you told the people to be quiet. I repeat, this reminds me of the Divan. I cannot reconcile it with your duty, with your character.

II.

I assume that you knew the bill to disfranchise the forty shilling freeholders in counties would be brought into the British legislature if the emancipation bill were introduced; and that if the latter was enacted, so would the former. I assume that you were not only silent yourself, but that when our friend Lawless called upon the people to resist this bill, you told the people to be quiet. I assume, therefore, that you considered Catholic emancipation to be of more value than the possession of the elective franchise in the counties by forty shilling freeholders, even as they are now constituted. In thus stating the case I give you all the advantage, because I candidly believe you did say that the forty shilling franchise as now held in the counties, was an evil; and that if no emancipation were to be granted, it would be right to change the qualification. I

differ with you upon two points. First, I believe the loss of the franchise would be a greater evil than would be compensated for by any species of emancipation, even simple repeal, which would be the most perfect. Secondly, I do look upon the possession of the forty shilling franchise in counties, as now it exists, to be a greater good than the modification to ten pound qualification.

The solution of the first difficulty will principally depend upon the decision regarding the second question. We will therefore take that question first. You know better than I can express, the vast difference between theory and practice. Originally the distinction, in Great Britain, between freehold, and chattel, and copyhold estate, had in it something intelligible to even a plain mind. The copyholder was a villain; the cultivator of the soil who, during a certain number of years, paid his rent for the leave to cultivate and take away the produce, was little better. Neither of those was the freeman of Magna Charta. The first was but another modification of what I see here every day amongst our colored population. But the man who held the benefice, during life, and by service becoming a freeman, was the freeholder. During his life he held and used his benefice.

Long since, however, scutage was substituted for free service; and as this scutage was a payment in money or its equivalent, the distinction between the mode of payment for the lands held by the freeholder, the copyholder, and the holder of real chattel, has vanished. Thus, the premises are destroyed, and Great Britain, by one of her legal fictions, lays the foundation of her elective franchise upon an illusion, an absurdity, viz., a supposition against fact. I now ask you in sober sadness, when the law is founded in such fiction, can you reconcile the consequences of this fiction to reasonable fact? You must expect practical folly to be the consequence of such fiction. Hence, you must not look for anything reasonable in the British mode of voting. The distribution of the right to vote is capricious, the result of fiction, absurdity, and injustice.

You will be able to judge how I recollect your lessons, when you shall have read my explanation of Irish freeholds for my American friends; and laying aside the legal technicality, inform them of what is actually the state of things; so that by their knowing exactly what an Irish freeholder is, they may be able to determine whether the disfranchisement of the forty shilling freeholder would be an evil or a benefit; to whom it would be useful, to whom it would be injurious.

In Ireland, formerly, lands were held by tanistry. The tanist, or chief of a clan, held all the land belonging to the clan. He distributed offices, and gave to the officers certain portions of the common stock. When the English, partly by fraud and partly by force, got possession of the land, they abolished the custom of tanistry, and held the land from the kings of England, according to the Norman fashion. This Norman fashion, which was the feudal custom of Normandy, was introduced into England by William the Conqueror in 1060. We have, then, to see its nature. All the land was vested in the king. He gave it in parcels to his dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, upon the condition that each of those would do him a service becoming a man of his condition; and so long as he or any of his heirs male could be found who would do his duty, the freehold was to vest in such males descendant; but should there be no male descendant of the original grantee capable of doing duty, the land was to revert to the king—that is, was to be escheated or to go into his fisc or treasury, until the king should give it to another who would do that duty. The duty was such as became a man, and this was the reason that the descent was confined to the males.

Upon the abolishment of tanistry in Ireland, this feudal title was established. The possessions were generally large, and the service light; and the person holding thus was said to hold of the crown or as in fee. Thus, holding as *in fee was* very different from the Anglo-Saxon allodial

tenure; because the Saxon, who held by allodial tenure, was the true owner of the soil—but the Anglo-Norman, who held as in fee, was in fact a tenant of the crown, and the king was the real owner of the land. These dukes or leaders, marquises or wardens—that is, guardians—of the marches, or frontier lands, earls, viscounts or lieutenants of the king's companions, and barons or lesser lords, were called pares or equal—that is, peers. In their own right they sat together with the king in his court; they were his council. But the services required from some of them were of such a nature as to demand the united exertions of many men; and those, men of free condition. One of the principal services was that of war; and many of the warriors required were to be horsemen, equites, knights, with armigers or esquires. To insure the attendance of such persons so as to enable him to do his duty to the king, the peer divided his estate into parcels; one portion he kept for his own domain; he then had several parcels, each a knight's fee, or sufficient for the support of a knight and his proper number of esquires; their service during life was the payment for their land. Hence, they held by free service, the land was called a benefice, they were called freeholders. But if the peer wished to have his domain cultivated, in order to furnish necessaries for his castle, villani, villains, who never went to war, but who, dwelling in villages, cultivated ground, were employed to do this. The peer, not caring to be troubled with looking after them, fixed with each what yearly contribution was expected from him; the villain paid this, and all that he gained over this was his own. Sometimes a bargain was made with the villain for a certain number of years, and at the expiration of this term, his lease having run out, he had no claim to a renewal. Sometimes the sum was fixed, and to continue so, each party being bound for a certain number of years; but a copy of the forms to be gone through for a renewal was exhibited in the office of the seneschal or steward, of

the tenant conforming to the directions of that copy, was entitled to a renewal; this was the copyholder of England. The difference between the mere villain and the copyholder consisted in this, that when the villain's term expired, he had no right of prior claim; but the copyholder had a right of preference to any other, if he conformed to the customs according to the copy. Each peer made what customs he pleased, and thus the copies were always different upon different estates, sometimes different upon several parcels of the same estate.

The customs were said to be the will of the lord; and the lord's will was construed to be, whether he would or no, in conformity to the copy in the office of his seneschal, a duplicate of which the tenant held. But this could not come down later than the first of Richard I, which was fixed by common usage as the period previous to which the barrigy right of the copyholder stands good. Subsequently to this, no copyholder could establish a new claim. Thus, in Ireland, especially outside the pale, there could be no copyhold. In fact, I believe there is not, and cannot be, a copyholder in Ireland.

The other freeholder imitated the peer frequently in letting his ground, or part of it, to a villain, for a certain yearly rent. And thus we now perceive that, after some time, there were: the peer who held of the king, the knight who generally held of the peer, but sometimes of the king himself, the esquire, who generally held of the knight, though sometimes immediately of the king or of the peer. The peer was the king's hereditary counsellor; the knight and the esquire were also freeholders. Those who held as knights or esquires, held during life, and could not alienate their land, but could let it to be cultivated at a certain rent for one or more years. To hold and use the land during their lives was in them, but they had not dominion of the land. It was to them a benefice, not allodial possession. The cultivator of the soil who paid *a yearly sum to the* freeholder could not give a freehold

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mense had there been no check put to its acquisition, because most all the land had been confiscated and granted, as in fee simple, to new possessors subsequently to this change of service into rent: and persons taking from those who held as in fee simple, would have preferred a freehold to a chattel interest. Besides several advantages in a pecuniary point of view, the right to vote for members to serve in parliament, and at the election of coroners, was attached thereto. You know, however, the manner in which Catholics were prevented from obtaining their fair share of this species of property; this I shall afterwards examine.

After some time freeholders were classed according to the value of their freeholds. 1. Those who had an interest worth fifty pounds a year or upwards. 2. Those who possessed an interest of twenty pounds a year, but less than fifty. 3. Those who possessed an interest of forty shillings, but not twenty pounds yearly. To these were to be added rent-chargers, that is, persons who, by a covenant, were entitled to claim a sum of money, yearly, from a freehold during a life or lives: for this, too, was a benefice, the claim must be upon the freehold, not upon the freeholder; and the amount of the rent-charge must be deducted from the value of the freehold, and the other charges to which it is liable must be subtracted before the freehold can be rated and classed. The law finally regulated that no rent-charger could vote except he possessed, at least, a claim for twenty pounds yearly; and no freeholder, except he had a clear yearly interest of forty shillings at the least, above all charges payable out of his freehold; it also required that he should produce his title in an open court of magistrates once in seven years, and that the rent-charger should produce his title in like manner, and the freeholder make affidavit of the nature of his mode of tenure, whether by dwelling upon, by tilling, or by grazing, and that he did not procure his title fraudulently, nor in exchange for a freehold in any other county. The clerk of the court endorsed the deed so produced, and registered

it, and the freeholder was not permitted to vote until after the expiration of twelve months, and he was then liable to be examined upon oath as to all the facts and the continuance of their truth, and as to his not having been bribed or led to expect any reward for his vote. Neither the twenty or fifty pound freeholders were required to produce their title-deeds, but the former should renew their registry once in seven years. They could also vote in six months after registry. You and every man who knows Ireland, knows and laments that many of the forty shilling freeholders are manufactured for elections and brought up to register without getting possession of their title-deeds: the landlord's agent takes good care to pay the fees, and to take up certificates, and exhibit title-deeds and all other documents, which he then keeps, and hurries those creatures through complex affidavits which they do not understand, and drives them up, in like manner, to vote for they know not whom. You complain of this as an evil, and think it would serve the cause of morality and of liberty to make the qualification ten pounds, instead of forty shillings. Perhaps you are right, but I believe you are not. The question is two-fold: first, as regards morality; next, as regards the purity of representation. You must forgive me for the profanation of the phrase, I shall examine the question presently. Meantime I shall describe to my American friends a scene to which I was witness on one of those days of registry.

Several forty shilling freeholders had consulted me, and I was examining their titles to know if they could, with a safe conscience, take the registry oath. Next came on the Catholic's oath of allegiance, which I had no difficulty to tell them might be taken by every Catholic who desired to maintain the constitution and uphold the king upon the throne. I observed one man, rather aged, who looked a little serious as the clerk proceeded to read that part of the oath which abjures the king-killing doctrine; which asserts that the Pope's infallibility is not as

faith; that no man is bound to perform a wicked act, though commanded by the Church; that no man can be forgiven his sins by any Pope or priest, at the mere will of such Pope or priest, but contrition and restitution are absolutely required; the first for all sinners, the last for those who have been dishonest. Here he looked quite religious and sentimental; at the conclusion he made the sign of the cross, took the oath, held the pen for his signature with great reverence, bent his knee to the justices, and bowed to the clerks. A friend of his asked him what he thought of the place. "I never was in a court before," said he, "and always feared to come, because I was told it was the devil's house, and that all the lawyers were his children; that the judges were great but very bad men, sent by the king to hang and transport Catholics whenever they could find any law for it, but to let all the Protestants go free, whatever they might have done. But I find it was all my mistake; a court is just as good a place as a chapel: and I cannot observe any difference in the sermons you will get here and from Father B———, except the difference between English and Irish, and between reading from a parchment and speaking without it. God Almighty bless that fine looking gentleman over; 'tis very well his gray head becomes him; why I am sure they told me he was a Protestant; but this, too, must be a mistake, because he told me how to go to confession, and to mind the priest and the bishop and the Pope; but the bishop himself never told us better things about confession, and absolution, and contrition, and satisfaction; and the justices took care the sermon should do me good, for they bid him watch to see whether I would kiss the book."

I was greatly struck at the number of mistakes which the poor man made, yet he actually spoke as he thought. Two things only he knew plainly: that by swearing the oath of allegiance he bound himself to be loyal, and that *his loyalty to a Protestant* king was not incompatible with *his faith as a Roman Catholic.*

III.

You would not convict of perjury the poor man who mistook for a sermon the abjuration of the calumnies with which we are assailed, and three good justices of the county of the city of Cork for Roman Catholics, and the respectable clerk of the peace for a preacher; and a Roman Catholic preacher too. Now I ask you which of the two is a plainer oath: the oath of the Catholic's allegiance together with its appendant declarations, or the oath of a forty shilling freeholder? I fear you will find by my last letter that I have not done my teacher much credit by my exhibition. I was a forty shilling freeholder; I believe I knew as much as most of the same class of electors respecting the nature of my title to register and to vote; yet this oath was really one of terror and of complexity. If I recollect rightly there were not less than a dozen different propositions to be distinctly sworn to by a forty shilling freeholder, and I have more than once found the gentlemen of the long robe seriously puzzled to make out the exact meaning of some of the passages. I recollect the words of one part of the oath, "nor have I procured it (the freehold) fraudulently, nor has it been granted fraudulently to me," in some few of the printed affidavits, by a mistake of the corrector of the press the words "to me" were omitted. A contested election came on in 1812; the candidate for whom I voted, lost his seat by a deficit of 30 votes. But had those defective affidavits been admitted he would, I believe, have been the sitting member. A very protracted debate took place before the assessor of the returning officer, in which it was contended that all the grants, and of course the grant to the occupant, were procured by the grantee; that if it was not procured by him fraudulently, it could not have been granted fraudulently to him by the grantor: yet the decision was against us; and I am disposed to say correctly and legally. I ask how is it possible to teach all the technical legal

distinctions of this affidavit to the general body of small farmers and laborers who are county freeholders? I have doubts but its expressions would puzzle Sir William Curtis, or even a Dublin alderman, whom it would be at least petit treason to disfranchise.

The complexity of the oath might give a well-trained, acute lawyer more exact ideas of the precise qualification; but it operates quite in a different way with the general body of the people. The multiplicity of terms and their legal precision create a difficulty of arriving at the precise meaning. Thus, a great many persons take the oath with a general impression of their right to do so, but without a special knowledge of the exact foundation of that right. Far be it from me to countenance loose swearing, but equally far be it from me to assert that all who swear thus are corrupt perjurers. Many persons who swear thus hope they are right, but fear they are wrong, and with the instinctive sagacity of their character, and in full accordance with nature, when questioned by others in an ambiguous manner, they will quibble to protect themselves; their fears increase, and they will perhaps endeavor to escape the imputation of perjury by the commission of falsehood. This is a lamentable state of things, but it is not extensive, deliberate, corrupt, wilful perjury. A great remedy would be, making the expressions less complex; a man would then know what he was called upon to swear.

Now, my friend, let me remind you of another circumstance, which will operate greatly in favor of the freeholders' integrity. Thousands of the forty shilling freeholders who scarcely, if at all, understand English, are sworn through the medium of an interpreter. Their language is not that of Lord Chatham; it is the remnant of an older and once a richer tongue, though we trace now but the indistinct shade of where two centuries since a deep shadow was distinctly marked. It is still abundantly sufficient for all the business of your peasantry, the lively repartee of their *pungent wit, such* as the peasantry of no other nation had.

And that peasantry is enslaved. It is, and I know it, fully adequate to the most glowing description, the most clear elucidation and the most pathetic appeals of religion. The harp can even now with its torn strings swell the terrific commands of the God of Sinai, louder than the pealing burst, which rolled in thunder round the summit of the awful mount, and imitate also with its soothing strains, the voice of Him who told His own history, when He related the parable of the good Samaritan. Yes! my friend, and well you know the truth of what I assert. It was not in Romaic that Demosthenes roused the feelings of his hearers, but perhaps a Romaic tongue now rekindles Grecian fires: it was not in Romaic that Homer sung; but perhaps some Romaic bard now feeds the sacred flame. Shall it be imputed as a crime to the Irish peasant that though stript of his franchise, he preferred the tongue of his fathers to the tongue of his oppressor, who stript him first of his lands, next of his character, then gave him the alternative of surrendering his franchise or his religion? Your ancestor and mine gave up the franchise; we regained it without injury to our religion. And will you, my friend, now ——————. No! I will not write it. Still, still, you are Daniel O'Connell; I will pledge my life for your integrity. But I will not, I cannot blind my short-sighted judgment. It is imperfect: but it is nature to prize greatly that with which we are not too abundantly gifted. Nature will excuse my obstinate adherence to my own views, and as I love the land of my fathers, I am prompted to publish my opinion to be weighed as it deserves by those who may deign to read. Forgive me this digression. You say "the forty shilling freeholder must be disfranchised, because he is a perjurer." How many chances are there of mistake in the complex nature of his affidavit; in his ignorance of the origin and nature of freehold right, and why is it privileged over chattel interest; in the medium through which he is sworn with an interpreter who understands one language imperfectly, and speaks the other worse, a sort

of hedge-attorney, perhaps, who might know how to get through the common routine of sessions' practice by his knowledge of law as trade, though ignorant of it as a science? The peasant knows that he has a deed, conveying to him ground at a reduced rent. Like the woman in the Eastern tale, who was to spurn the caliph from her feet, after she would have realized an immense fortune from her basket of glass, by multiplied sales and increasing profits, his imagination anticipates the mighty profits arising from an acre of potato ground, half an acre of wheat, half an acre of oats, a patch of flax, and the cabin. In the moment of this reverie, you would as soon lead him to swear *bona fide* that it was worth ten pounds yearly, as that it was worth forty shillings.

The landlord, while inducing him to register, is kind and indulgent, grants the leave of the bog for cutting turf, the use of a horse to assist in ploughing, and does a thousand acts of civility which are all worth at least five pounds yearly to him, should they be continued, as he hopes they would. You or I would not, perhaps, believe he has an interest in it. His state is deplorable, but he is not a corrupt perjurer. He is urged to register by his landlord, by the attorney, and by his own feelings. He persuades himself that he is fully qualified.

But I have given you the advantage hitherto. I must begin to make some entries upon the other side of the book. There is a great host of forty shilling freeholders in the towns which are in those counties. Generally speaking, they are intelligent and patriotic; they know the rights and duties of freeholders, and they love their country; they could not be ten pound freeholders, not for want of property, but for want of freehold. They have abundance of chattel, but very little freehold. Allow me to enumerate: There are thirty-two counties in Ireland; in these, there are, if I recollect rightly, but five cities which would retain, by the intended bill, the qualification of forty shilling *freeholders to vote.* Those cities would soon lose it by

analogy, if they would not lose it by trick, upon the third reading. In those counties, there are several large towns containing from five thousand to twenty thousand inhabitants each. All the forty shilling freeholders in those towns, containing, perhaps, nearly a million of souls, are to be disfranchised because of perjury and corruption. I assert that, as a general proposition, there is no perjury in those towns. I write from my own knowledge of several of them, and I assert that I have never known a better or more honest class of independent voters than the men whom this bill would disfranchise in those towns. Look to the registry of the county of Cork, and see how many of the honest and incorruptible men of the Cove of Cork would be disfranchised. Mallow was considered not to be sunk to the level of corrruption and perjury; Youghall boasted of some honest men; Bantry was not sunk to a degraded state; Kinsale had some independent small freeholders, and I should be sorry to think Bandon is worse than when I lived in it. I have not gone through one-fourth of the towns of this one county, and there was no question but the county of Cork is one of the most degraded in Ireland in its representation; but that belongs to some future remarks. I now examine only the question of perjury and demoralization. There was much, but it was not so extensive as to require disfranchisement. In England, they would not disfranchise a rotten borough, every man of which was proved to be corrupt and degraded. We shall hereafter see why the British parliament is so well disposed to protect Irish purity. Is that parliament itself very free from perjury and corruption? I recollect one of its most upright and conscientious members, whom you well know, being in conversation with me upon the subject of your claims. I asked him whether, as a good Protestant, he did not think it would be meritorious to induce us to lay aside our idolatry. "Why," said he, "we do not believe you to be idolators." "But," I replied, "you swear it." "Pugh, pugh," said he, "you must not think

that we believe it, though we swear it; the oath is a mere form which must be gone through, to take our seats." "Let me understand you," said I. "Though every member of the House of Commons swears that we are idolators, no one of them believes what he swears to be a fact?" "Why you put it too plainly," said he; "it will sound better, and indeed be correct, if you say we must go through the form of the oath before we can take our seats." "And," said I, "the Lords must go through the same form?" "Yes." "The bishops are not exempt?" said I. "No," said he, "the bishops all go through the form." "Do the bishops believe us to be idolators?" I asked. "No, no, you wrong them," said he; "some of them, perhaps two out of forty-three, are liberal men; and I do not believe that one of the others really looks upon you as idolators." Thus, my friend, we have a British bench of bishops, who go through a form of oath which they do not believe to be true; and a House of Commons, which swears against its conviction; all shocked at a few mistakes and some perjury of your wretched forty shilling freeholders, in registering their freeholds and in giving their votes; and though Grampound and old Sarum would give godly men to this pure legislature, the great bulk of the Irish counties must be disfranchised for the mistakes of one in ten, and the perjury and corruption of one in twenty of their voters. In which eye is the beam? I look upon you to have been honest. How can I look upon the men who have corrupted their tenants and forced the perjury upon them to be so? When I hear the friends of the ministry crying out against the perjury and corruption of electors, it reminds me of the sailor and the preacher who threatened to denounce the crew to God, as violators of His law. "My eyes," said the tar, "but it is always the greatest rogue becomes king's evidence."

Some of the forty shilling freeholders are guilty of corrupt perjury; certainly the great minority; therefore, all the *forty shilling* freeholders ought to be disfranchised. The

British parliament, bishops, lay-lords, and commons, all "go through a form of oath," of which they do not believe the contents to be true; therefore, as guardians of morality and as men whose ears tingle at the very echo of the sound of perjury, they ought to punish those corrupt freeholders whom they have themselves corrupted, and the honest freeholders, who would not be corrupted by them. You and I were punished by those people, because we would not swear against our consciences. They told us that we were punished because we were not credible upon oath; their irony was cruel calumny, accompanied by heartless persecution. I need not advise you against persecution, for you are no bigot; but I advise you against irony. The parliament of Great Britain knows that its members are all obliged to swear what few or none of them believe, and this not in one but in a dozen propositions. Do not then insult them by saying, that they ought to disfranchise a political body, only a vast minority of which is corrupt, a majority of which, I fearlessly say, is honest. Such disqualification might have another bad effect. It might tend to encourage perjury, because, upon a knowledge of of facts, the poor people would perhaps imagine that the British parliament had despoiled them of their rights, because there was not a sufficient proportion of the constituents assimilated to the representatives, in their mode of going through the form of a political oath. Upon an abstract view of the proposal, I would say: "Do what you can to put a stop to corruption and to perjury." But, viewing things as they really are in Ireland, I say: "It is cruel injustice to disfranchise the Irish Catholic, whilst the English Protestant, equally guilty, nay, more guilty, for the British boroughs are more corrupt than the Irish counties, is left unpunished." I will clearly show, before I finish, that the correct view of this case is what I here exhibit.

Thus, I say, the perjury and corruption which, it is pretended, call for the disfranchisement, do not exist to

the extent assumed; and if their existence demands the destruction of the rights of the Irish freeholder, the same cause calls for the disfranchisement of the English electors, of the Irish freemen in cities, and of the pure British parliament; and much more cause exists in each of those latter cases, than in the former. I assert, therefore, that perjury and corruption of the forty shilling freeholder is not the cause but the pretext for depriving him of his franchise. "I am called a robber," said the unfortunate captive of the Macedonian king, "because I can command only one small ship; but you are called a conqueror, because your spoliations are more extensive, and your means of mischief greater." There is more perjury, more venality, more corruption in your parliament, in your bloated corporations, in your large freeholders, and in your miserable little protected sinks of malevolent bigotry, your small Orange freemen, in a tenfold ratio of their numbers, than in the forty shilling freeholders. If then hatred of corruption, detestation of perjury, and love of integrity, be the motives of the destroyers of the franchise, why not begin where the evil is most palpable and most desperate? I know you would, if you could. This attack upon the forty shilling freeholder did not originate with you; but you ought to have withstood it. You ought to have acted as Lawless did.

But, would not raising the qualification to ten pounds put a stop to this evil, or at least diminish it? No: I do not think it would. You are fully aware that the men who would manufacture a forty shilling freeholder, would be as well disposed to manufacture one of ten pounds; and the man who would be corrupt enough to swear against the fact that he had the value of a shilling, which he had not, would be disposed to swear the same to any amount. The perjury and the corruption do not consist in the sum but in the disposition. The only effect would be to diminish the number of honest votes, and to diminish *the whole number* of voters. The proportion of honest

men who would be disfranchised would be greater than that of knaves who would be kept away. This is not mere speculation.

Previous to 1793, when the elective franchise was restored to Catholics, none of the upright, conscientious Catholics could vote; but, as I am informed, a large portion of the offscouring and dregs of the body always were employed to personate Protestant freeholders, and I am told that any corruption which was known since, was purity compared to the profligacy of the preceding period. I have a very faint recollection of a contested election in the county of Cork before 1793; I recollect only two circumstances. I saw the successful candidates chaired, and I shall never forget the public and continued exclamations against the perjury, corruption, and profligacy of the agents and pretended freeholders. I have since then witnessed what was said to be the worst species of malpractices used at elections; and I uniformly heard all those who were older than me say, that they were not in any way an approximation to the corruption and crime which was usual before the restoration of their rights to Catholic forty shilling freeholders. Thus, as far as the examination of principle and of fact, and the comparison of what now is with what was before 1793, can lead me, I am decidedly of opinion that changing the freeholder's lowest qualification to ten pounds, would not benefit the cause of morality. I have no doubt that such benefit was not amongst the objects of those who proposed it.

IV.

I have shown from facts that the forty shilling freeholder has a will of his own. I wish to show, in like manner, that, generally speaking, the twenty pound freeholder has less will of his own, is more a slave to his landlord. I promised to show this by proof from facts. I shall give, in the form of a dialogue, the substance of what I have frequently listened to. A forty shilling freeholder is remon-

strating with one of Mr. Blake's men who had common decency and shame and some property in his hands, viz., a twenty pound freeholder, "a totally different class from the forty shilling freeholder."

Forty. Neighbor, why do you hold back? Why don't you come to the committee room and do as the rest of us are doing?

Twenty. 'Tis easily said; a man must consider for his family. The committee can do without me; I wish them success.

Forty. Certainly they can; and without me; but if every person gives only good wishes, there will be nobody to vote, and then we will be trodden down as they used to walk upon us before we got the freehold leases, when they used to turn us off the land, and let in the little Protestants and the bucks,[1] and we were not considered worth the dirt of their shoes; the poor Protestants and the greatest rogues among ourselves, men that would swear to lies and take bribes, were then the best men in their esteem. But we now get civility sometimes and we are courted, because the landlord knows the election will come about some time or another.

Twenty. Don't you know the landlord is against our committee? and do you want me to go and get my goods and stock distrained for the rent?

Forty. Surely I know as well as you do. Didn't his attorney send to tell me that I owed now a whole year's rent, and that he had a mind to press me for the whole, but he supposed if I went to speak to the landlord himself at the other committee room, I could get easy terms, and he wanted to know what I was doing here. You don't owe more than a year's rent?

Twenty. No, nor the year's rent in full, but you know it is easier to make up five years of your rent than one year's rent of mine; and besides, if it comes to the worst, and that *you lose* your little interest, it is less evil to *lose a small interest* than a large one; it is easier to buy

[1] Mock freeholders who swore to what they did not possess.

your stock than mine; if I was only a forty shilling man, I'd go to the committee as soon as you would. Forty shilling men can go together and help one another, but it is not so convenient for twenty pounders to do so. Besides, what is the difference to us? The three candidates all promise to support the Catholic bill. One man is as good for that purpose as another. I must go with the landlord. But if I had only your bit of ground, I would not care so much, and if you had mine, you would leave your committee to themselves.

Forty. What makes the candidates all promise to vote now for the Catholic bill? They did not promise this the last time. That time we had only one candidate in our favor and the Orangemen laughed at us. Since then we made three times as many freeholders as we had then. I'll vote for the man that was with me when we were weak. Besides, he'll not give his vote to have so much taxation on us; he won't vote for the man that let the soldiers loose upon us, since we cannot get out of the ground rent and rates and tithes and taxes more than its produce is worth; nor will he vote to take us from our little families because we happen to be too far from home to be within doors before the fall of the sun. Surely, you know there are some of our members worse than any Protestants, and this man and other Protestants are not to be sunk to a level with the landlord. Stay with us; he wants tenants as much as we want land.

I assure you, my friend, that I have frequently witnessed dialogues of this description, in much stronger language; and that, so far from twenty pound freeholders having a will more independent than those of forty shillings, I believe it is generally, in the counties, quite the reverse. because they have a greater stake subject to the landlord's discretionary harassing.

Now I come to your fifty pound freeholders. They are of two kinds: 1. Those who hold as in fee; with respect to them you know they are generally dependent upon the crown for many favors and for more expectations. This

sons and brothers are in the army, in the navy, in the Church, in the public offices, etc. Though in the abstract they are independent, I ask you, in fact, are they not really more the slaves of their party or of the crown or castle, than the forty shilling freeholder is of his landlord? 2. The middlemen: are they not, more generally speaking, the greatest slaves, as being most in arrears; having heavy rents; having received some favors and expecting others; besides cringing to be permitted to hunt, and to dine, and to shoot with their betters? There are several exceptions in each of those divisions, but I know the general statement to be correct. In the counties, my impression is that, as time advances, the small freeholders will become more independent; and that it is the dread of this which harasses Messrs. Canning, Plunkett, etc.

The county of Cork is the worst represented that can be; yet you will tell me it has an immense registry of forty shilling freeholders, and their will and interest are opposed to the sitting members for whom many of them have voted. Therefore, you will say it is clear they have no will of their own, and that I am in error. I shall answer by facts. Mr. Ponsonby once spoke with me upon the subject; and though I made him no promise, I privately made an essay to try whether the same effect could be produced in the county, that was in the county of the city, and by the same means. I uniformly found the 40s. interest honest and ready to act. But I found the middlemen, who ought to co-operate, not only not willing to do so, but actually opposed to any such proceeding, and this, as many of them declared to me, because they were in the power of their landlords much more than the poorer freeholders were; some of those were gentlemen whom you well know, swaggering, independent gentlemen, who voted on the 3d of September, 1813, "that property was the standard of opinion," and who were then as aristocratic as Anthony Richard Blake is now. I mention but one county, *because I write* from my own knowledge, but I have been

told and do believe that in several other counties the case was the same. I therefore assert: 1. That the assumption that 40s. freeholders have no will of their own, is against the fact. 2. That the assumption that large freeholders are more independent of their landlords, is against the fact. Therefore the reasoning built on such assumptions is a perfect delusion.

The fact is known from experience and all the practical reasoning leads to the conclusion, that however mean his station, however apparently dependent he may be, the humble 40s. freeholder is the least corrupt part of the constituency of Ireland. Let us view that constituency. I shall give to the American to contemplate a picture which will exhibit to him the vast- superiority of his simple qualification for a voter, over the complicated machinery of Gothic and Saxon and Norman institutions, subsisting in the imperfection of the blended defects of each and the combination of all rendered more intricate by fiction, so that the mind becomes bewildered, and the juggler is allowed to play with his puppets at his pleasure.

The first class of electors are the beneficed clergymen of the Established Church; they come in upon the tenure of the benefice during life, for the service which they are supposed to give in return is free and honorable. No man would presume to breathe a whisper that this parson is to be disfranchised, because he has no will of his own. Now, my friends, there are in Ireland upwards of fourteen hundred voters of this class. I put the question openly: Does any man in Ireland believe that two hundred of those parsons are men who vote independently? For my own part I do not believe that fifty of them do. I write it as a notorious fact, not as a charge, not as a reproach. Those gentlemen who have received their livings by presentation from lay patrons, consider it a compliment, which as gentlemen they owe to those who presented their livings to vote as they wish. Those who receive their livings by the gift of the crown, feel that the same

expects their votes, and also that if the court candidate will not get it, the court will give no farther promotion to the recusant, and the crown is daily purchasing the right of patronage from the proprietors, in order to increase its influence at elections.

There are eight or nine hundred other clergymen, curates and expectants, who vote with those from whom they have expectation. They are voters by virtue of their own property or by being freemen of corporations. Now, my friend, did any person propose to disfranchise those men, though every one knows and acknowledges that not one in ten of them is an independent voter? But the aristocratic Anthony Richard Blake will say they have property, and therefore must be independent; most of the gentlemen of this last class are fifty pound and twenty pound freeholders. I care not whether a man is influenced by what he calls a gentlemanly feeling of gratitude, or by expectation of favor, or by dread of his landlord. The result is the same. He is influenced; he is not independent. Besides this, the clergymen are swayed by all the other motives which operate upon the other large freeholders. Thus, it is a notorious fact, that no person ever expects an Irish clergyman of the establishment to give an independent vote. The government, the bishop, and his patron, all exercise over him more sway than any landlord does over any freeholder. Yet it would be considered sacrilege to touch his franchise, and you would yourself be horrified at the proposal, though you did taunt my friend John Lawless for what you were graciously pleased to call his under-growl in defence of my quondam comrades, the 40s. freeholders, whom you advised to be silent, whilst Mr. Plunkett was stripping them, as he could not incarcerate you! Was this like Daniel O'Connell? Would any quondam fellow-agitator have acted so? I do not want to strip the clergy of their votes; but if the forty shilling freeholder *is* to be disfranchised because he is not *master of his own* vote, you must a fortiori disfranchise

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for sons-in-law, but there must be a *quid pro quo:* the court candidate must be supported at elections. Commands in the army and navy, distinctions, governorships, embassies, secretaryships, places in the revenue, on the several public boards, inspectorships, sinecures, pensions, and all the *et ceteras.* The bench, the chairmanship of counties, the offices in the courts, the places of high sheriff, attorney and solicitor-general, law-adviser and counsel to the several boards; the physician of the forces, surgeons of the hospitals, regiments, etc.; commissioners in the militia, etc. Here are several thousands of places all at the disposal of the crown. Viewing those, the large embarrassed freeholder says: "My poverty but not my will consents." His family, his relations, his creditors who wish to fill those places, importune him. He is exposed to temptations which never assail the forty shilling freeholder. I put it to my friend O'Connell to say, if the latter is to be disfranchised, ought not the former?

You know too well the manner in which all minor offices are disposed of. Generally speaking, they are in the actual gift of the court member, who is bound to vote for the minister, in the House of Commons; and he gives them to twenty pound and occasionally forty shilling freeholders or their relatives who will vote to send him to the House of Commons. Every person who knows Ireland, knows that to be the fact. Here is a picture for the American to contemplate! And the men who are thus returned to the honorable House unblushingly ask to disfranchise the men whom this corrupting influence can scarcely reach.

I shall now hazard an opinion and a conjecture. The opinion is: That so increasing the number of voters as to make the influenced portion the decided minority will be the most likely mode of destroying this corruption. Every increase of the number of voters will approximate to this desirable state. And every diminution of the number of voters will increase the power of the crown and of its

dependents. Suppose, against the fact, the forty shilling freeholders to be now equally influenced as the other electors, still increasing their number would be more likely to decrease the power of the crown, because a large body is less manageable than a small body; and the facts which we observe prove the principle. The crown can procure a return, with facility, in the small bodies; but, even if through its influence it should succeed in large bodies, it is always after a serious struggle. A landlord, too, could more easily influence twenty large freeholders who live upon his estate, than he could two hundred small freeholders. When the number of voters was small, before 1793, elections were easily managed by the crown and the proprietors of boroughs; but since then the number of voters has been gradually increasing, and the electors are not so easily managed. The crown and the great landlords find their influence greatly checked; the people at large find their consequence greatly increased. The extension of the franchise, in 1793, did more to rescue Ireland from degradation than any other act could have done; and my conjecture is, that now the crown and the great landholders have combined to narrow the right of suffrage, to check the progress of popular rights, and to endeavor to gain a portion of that domination which they have lost, and to secure what yet remains. I think I see the proof of this in the eagerness with which the aristocrats who used to oppose Catholic emancipation, rush forward to petition that emancipation might be granted upon the condition of their being delivered from an unmanageable body of electors, who will not permit them to make their bargains with government as comfortably as their fathers used, when the number of voters was less and the small body was more easily managed. Here was a tremendous water-spout rising in your course, and which would have inevitably swamped your vessel, had it poured upon her; yet you were displeased with the man, who, looking ahead, fired a gun to dissipate the portentous column; because, forsooth, the demon of the whirlwind

would be displeased at the report, and tell your crew that although he had them stowed under hatches and driven your steersmen from the helm, you still were agitating demagogues; no doubt the report of such a gun was an under-growl! Alas, poor Ireland! was it not an unpardonable offence in John Lawless, to have called your children to your protection, when orders had been issued not to utter a syllable until after the keeper should have had his hand upon you and was actually turning the screws of your manacles? And have I so far forgotten the land of my birth and the spirit of my former associates in a very few short years, as not to have been astounded at reading that in an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, the man who thus protected his country was received with partial hissing? But let me congratulate him upon the occurrence. In every community there will be found men whose praise is censure and whose censure is praise; I should suspect I was a traitor to Ireland, had I been applauded by the men who shouted for the Marquis of Londonderry.

V.

I trust that it has been shown: 1. That although many of the registered forty shilling freeholders were manufactured, still the vast majority of them were and are *bona fide* freeholders. 2. That so far from being generally perjurers, they generally have a high respect for their oath. Oh, I am galled and ashamed at being compelled by any circumstances connected with you to have been obliged to write this! 3. That as a body they are less corrupt than any other class of Irish voters. No comparison can be formed between their political purity and the political corruption of the freemen of corporations. 4. That as a body they are less liable to influence and less under its operation than the clergy, the large proprietors, and the twenty and fifty pound freeholders. Remark, I compare the aggregate body *on the one side to the* aggregate body on the other. I make

no individual comparisons, and I also take them, in the ratio of their numbers, respectively. You may, for instance, in one barony find a clergyman perfectly independent; three or four proprietors unembarassed and incorruptible; eight or ten respectable twenty pound freeholders; and in this collection of twenty-five unexceptionable men, you have spirit, integrity and patriotism. You may in that same barony produce two hundred forty shilling freeholders, one-fourth of whom are either slavish or corrupt. Yet you will have one hundred and fifty honest men, whom the bill would disfranchise. But this view even is grossly partial, because it assumes, against the fact, that through the island all the honest votes are to be found amongst the clergy and gentry. You may recollect the homely answer of a countryman of ours to a person who told him that his family must be very bad, as there were so many who bore his name hanged, though hanging is not, in Ireland, evidence of criminality: "My good sir," was the reply, "there were more bearing my name hanged than were good men bearing your name, and there are now a greater number of good persons of my name living than ever were, are, or will be, of your name in the world." In the ratio of their numbers the forty shilling freeholders are the best and most independent voters in Ireland. Should this be ever read in Ireland, I am quite aware of the manner in which it will be received at the first reading; but the numbers who will acknowledge its truth will be continually on the increase as examination will be made.

But why not amend the system by destroying the slavish and the corrupt portion? Do, if you will; but begin where the evil is greatest. You say you cannot; the Church cannot be touched; lay but a finger upon it, and Mr. Plunkett, the worthy son of a Presbyterian clergyman, will be actually in hysterics, and the Catholic Mr. Blake will be shocked and will need the aid of thieves' vinegar to preserve him from the contagion of democracy. Well, to give Mr. Plunkett a chance of the chancellorship, and to leave it in Mr. Blake's power to climb the bench or to

ɛep into the Commons (is not this House too democrat-
ıl for this aristocrat?) We will leave the churchmen
touched and the large freeholders unmolested. But pro-
ıled always upon the condition that they leave the small
ɛeholders unmolested, but not otherwise. There are some
ils in the system, but many of these evils arise from
e unreasonable mode of continuing a feudal test, to know
ıo is a freeman in a system where freedom and indepen-
nce are not now connected with feudal tenure. Every
ɛeman ought to have a vote. This is the principle of
e old English constitution. In the Saxon days, in the
orman times, there were villains and thralls; they were
ıt freemen. Now your mode of ascertaining who is a
ɛeman, is to ask does his foot touch the soil of Britain?
e is free. I have not the spirit to transcribe nor even
allude to the description of the beautiful vision which
esented itself to Curran's imagination, and which his
dor mistook for real fact: when he told us of the
ıking of the altar and the god before the genius of
ıiversal emancipation. Oh, my friend, it is sickening to
ad so eloquent a sentence and to find how you are
ocked when you come to examine the reality. True,
ere is no god; but there is an altar over which the
mon of discord presides, grinning a ghastly smile of
tter mockery at the deluded reader of Curran's vision.
ıis idol of my native land, begrimed with blood, sur-
unded with halters and instruments of torture, is raised
ıon the rights of Ireland as a pedestal; the yells of
rty orgies swell the peals of adoration; human victims
lpitate, and the smoke of their carcasses rises like incense
his distended nostrils. We behold those whom pestilence
d famine and desolation have prostrated, fill the temple:
eir infuriated relatives rush to assail those who mock
eir woes with hypocritical distributions of Bibles and
ligious tracts, and thunder out their anathemas in the
ape of insurrection acts, and white-boy acts and peeling
ts, and tithing acts; many of those relatives are seized

and banished, the others by the use of their franchise would indeed demolish this altar, destroy this temple, and lay this spirit, and therefore it is that they who would perpetuate the idolatry would deprive them of their franchise, because, like every other worship, the worship of this demon brings profit to his priesthood.

If every man in Ireland is a freeman, why has not every man in Ireland his elective franchise? And if this be a freeman's characteristic, why will you deprive so many thousands of my countrymen of their freedom? Or will they permit it? Mr. Shiel said you could persuade them to be content after the spoliation. Could you? Then they deserve worse than slavery. Would you? Your punishment ought to be more afflictive than theirs. If Mr. Shiel stated what was a fact, I thank God I do not live in Ireland. I thank God I live amongst men who value their rights, and will never listen to any who dares to advise about even the possibility of their retrenchment. No, no! this is one of Mr. Shiel's mistakes. He has a beautiful imagination. He sees this not in Ireland, but with his mind's eye. He sees it in that space between earth and heaven; he bodies it forth in words, and gives to airy nothing a habitation and a name.

But you would not strip Irishmen of their rights; you would give the right of universal suffrage. Why, then, did you tell them to be silent? "Qui tacet consentire videtur." Why did you scoff at the under-growl of Jack Lawless?

But you would leave a respectable constituency. You would disfranchise thousands. You would reduce men who now have a right to vote to the state of slaves who have no vote. But there would arise a substantial class of ten pound freeholders, and there would be more comfort amongst the peasantry. Do you seriously believe this would be the result? I do not, and I found my opinion upon my knowledge of the Irish landlords.

But suppose the landlord gives a tenant an interest of *ten* pounds instead of forty shillings. If it arises from

the landlord's generosity, the tenant will be under an obligation; if it arises from the tenant's industry and means, he has now the same industry, the same means. The change would be injurious to freedom; and this is the reason why all the tyrannical land-jobbers and the aristocratic land-owners, who detest the sound of Catholic emancipation, are ready to give even emancipation at this price. Thus they profess their opinion to be that which I have expressed; that this does more injury to civil liberty and to Irish freedom, than would be compensated for by Catholic emancipation.

But, hitherto, I have been obliged to keep one great consideration out of view, viz.: That the quantity of property in Ireland, out of which freehold interest could arise, is much smaller than is generally imagined.

You are to deduct from the surface of the island: First, all the bishops' lands, which are held by tenants for terms of years—generally with the clause of *toties quoties*, that is, the occupying tenant has, upon certain conditions, a right to get a renewal from the bishop's tenant, who is his landlord, as often as that landlord gets a renewal from the bishop. Next, the glebe land, the college lands, and those of several corporations, which are not allowed to make a freehold. I believe this would sweep away more than one-fourth of the country, upon which no freehold can exist.

Before 1778, no Roman Catholic could take a lease of a house or land for a longer term than thirty-one years, and if the land was worth more than a trifling consideration over the yearly rent, any Protestant could, upon paying that advanced sum, turn the Catholic out and enter into possession.

But when the success of the people of America taught England that prudence which is miscalled generosity, Catholics, upon swearing allegiance, were permitted to take leases at low rents and for 999 years. The first relief of *the Irish Catholic* from his bondage is due to America,

which may God enrich with every blessing! And, perhaps, were it given to us to see through the mist of futurity, we would discover that the ecstatic consolation of completing this work of philanthropy and charity is reserved for this land, whose soil teems with the blood and sweat of grateful Irish Catholics.[1]

The Catholics, soon after the passing of this law, began to acquire real chattel to a considerable amount; and, in fourteen years, had got into possession of a vast quantity of land, under leases for long terms of years. In 1782, they were permitted to take freehold, but not to vote, for which reason they still took chattel.

This greatly curtailed the quantity of land in towns, cities, and counties which might be made freehold, because no freehold can arise out of a real chattel. Thus, when in 1793, the French Revolution and the United Irishmen made the English goverment exhibit a little more mock-generosity, the Catholics could become freeholders, and were restored to their franchise except in the corporations; the quantity of land by means of which they could obtain the franchise was greatly limited, and had, in fact, been principally curtailed by the conversion thereof into real chattel. The wealthy Protestants had the old confiscated Catholic property as in fee simple; they were all freeholders, and freeholders to a large amount. There was scarcely a Protestant above the rank of a beggar, who, if he was a freeholder, was not so to the value of twenty pounds. But the rich Catholic had made the most of his money, by giving the Protestant a large fine to reduce the yearly rent of ground which he took for a long term of years, when he could not take as freehold, or if he had a freehold he could not vote, though he was frequently richer than his landlord, who had a freehold of perhaps two or three thousand pounds per annum. In 1793 this Catholic wished to become a freeholder, and he could with diffi-

[1] Since Bishop England's day the Irish in America have become a larger body than those at home; and it is becoming apparent every day that they will play no small part in freeing Ireland from British rule.

culty procure a forty shilling freehold, though owning real chattel to a great amount.

From those facts it is clear that there could be very few Protestant 40s. voters, and the vast majority of Catholic voters must, for several years, be persons of that description; that smallness of freehold generally would argue poverty in the Protestant, and would by no means indicate it in a Catholic; and that to disfranchise the small freeholders generally would be, however impartial in appearance, nearly equivalent to a disfranchisement of the Irish Catholics. The Catholic voters, I believe, are now to the Protestant voters through Ireland in the ratio of three to one; and by this disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders, the Catholic voters would be to the Protestant in the ratio of one to five, if we take corporations, though the Protestant population is to the Catholic in the ratio of one to over six. Almost every Irish Protestant either is or has it in his power to become a voter. It is a matter of great difficulty to a Roman Catholic to become qualified. I have known Roman Catholics, whose property was worth more than twenty thousand pounds, during two or three years anxiously endeavoring to obtain, for more than its value, as much freehold property as would enable them to register as 40s. freeholders, and still unable to obtain it. If, then, it is so difficult to obtain a qualification of 40s., would not the difficulty be increased by making it five times as great? And if my views of the facts be correct, would not the ten pound freeholder, who would owe his franchise to the indulgence of his landlord, be a worse slave than the present 40s. freeholder? And would it not be unjust to the individuals and injurious to the principle of civil liberty and of morality and integrity, to deprive the least corrupt portion of the constituency of their right, under the false pretext of their having abused it? to take from the body of the people the characteristic of freemen, and to diminish the number of persons to be influenced, *thereby creating* a facility which would tempt the corrupter?

Would Ireland be compensated for these evils by Mr. Blake's aristocracy? What will you put in competition with the liberties of your country? I am sick of the subject. Amongst the several possibilities that ever rose before my understanding, the necessity of thus remonstrating with you upon this topic, was one of the last I could imagine.

Did you not see the dreadful innovation, like some dark cloud rising in the east, obscuring the sun of your hope, darkening the prospects of your country, communicating its gloom to every countenance, collecting every kindred speck as it rose, lowering upon your liberties, as it spread upon the horizon, and threatened in the zenith? Every timid man fled, every prudent man feared, every honest man bewailed, that which was likely to ensue; whilst you stood calmly descanting upon the glories of that luminary which it veiled, the innocence of its lightning, the harmony of its thunder, and the benefits which would ensue to the land after the deluge which it would pour forth should have swept away the hovels of the forty shilling freeholders and their inmates to the gulf of ruin; then, indeed, a new order of things would arise, "Jam redit Astræa." The Orange persecutor would become charitable and kind; the middleman, benevolent; the landlord would be a protector; the magistrate, impartial; the parson would be liberal; the tithe-proctor, merciful; the tax-gatherer, tender-hearted; and a happy race of peasants would enjoy the soil. Did you believe all this would happen? If you did, your hopes were greater than were those of your friend.

VI.

I shall now conclude my remarks upon the attempt to destroy the rights of the Irish Catholic electors. I call it the attempt to destroy their rights, because I believe I have fully shown, that if the bill had passed, this destruction would be its inevitable consequence. Thus it would be injuring religious liberty, without naming religion; it would be injuring civil liberty, by stripping thousands of

their franchise; it would be maintaining the Protestant ascendency in Ireland, without calling it Protestant; it would be the worst species of persecution, viz., persecution in disguise. Every person now points with reproof and scorn to your boasting masters, who assume to be most liberal, whilst they are well known to be the most persecuting government in the civilized world. The South American, just emerged from bondage, is more liberal, and when he refuses to your government the right of making religious establishments in his country, for your Protestant merchants, it is because he has been informed that those merchants petition to continue the oppression of his fellow-Catholic in Great Britain; and because he sees that those merchants will, if permitted to make such establishments, deluge his country with bad translations of the Bible, and tell the people that their priests are knaves, whose religion is a sacrilegious traffic upon dirty bits of brown paper, and who give men leave to rob their neighbors, provided they share the plunder with them.[1]

As he knows he has religion and is not an idolator, and as he knows those vile falsehoods would create mischievous irritation, he thinks it just as well to keep that Christianity which came down from the Apostles through his fathers, as to substitute any modification thereof, which Britain or even New England can bestow upon him. But he enacts no law to deprive the people of the country of their civil rights, because they will not give up the religion of their ancestors; and this is more liberality and justice than Great Britain has evinced since the days of Henry VIII. Is there in the world a parallel to British intolerance? The inquisitors prevented the people from making changes in religion, upon the ground that any essential change must destroy it. Britain persecutes them for not changing with her, though she says that they might err in making those changes. The Inquisition could keep all its victims in a few dungeons; Britain has not, in *three centuries,* ever had less than millions of victims at

[1] See article on "Bulls of the Crusades" in the second volume.

a time. Ireland has been one vast prison, and every member of her ascendency has been an inquisitor. I disapprove of the Inquisition. It never was a portion of our religion, as is erroneously imagined. But in the most angry times of religious acrimony, forgive me the expression, British writers have had to ransack our Church for the names of a few persecutors who filled our episcopal chairs; the world has to rest but upon very few dignified names in the modern British hierarchy, who stand an exception honorable to themselves from its bench of bishops. Britain is not insensible to this; and therefore the oligarchy which rules her is anxious to assume the appearance of a virtue which it has not. It wishes to keep the Irish Catholics powerless, but still yearns to have the semblance of being liberal, and finding that it cannot destroy the power of a Catholic nation, such as Ireland is, without destroying its civil rights, it attempts to do both by one act; and that is, by disfranchising a large body of electors, who, under present circumstances, must almost universally be Catholics, and then in return, it will dole out favors to a chosen few, and pay the clergy, that they may aid in enslaving the people. Thus Britain will endeavor to wipe away the stigma of her disgrace, and still do the very acts for which that stigma was deserved.

Look to the history of our country and decide by facts. I have been amused by what has been miscalled the philosophy of history—such is Hume's:—a mockery of reasoning not worthy of even the dignity of a sophism, which attemps to argue you out of truth, by supposing it possible that a fact which is related did not occur; and discovering possibilities that motives might have been, of the existence of which there is no proof, but evidence the other way. And then without evidence, and contrary to evidence, you are upon the philosophy of history to suppose the fact which history exhibits did not occur, or if you cannot be brought to that, you must at least believe by philosophy, that the agent had motives which are dif-

erent from the true ones. This is one kind of philosophy with which I hope never to be imbued. Some reflection as led me to study history after a different fashion. I ook upon history to be a record of facts, not a system f speculation. I examine the truth of the record by the ule of testimony; where I have evidence of the fact, I elieve it; where I have not, I draw no conclusion. In ike manner I deal with motives and dispositions. The bject of my study of history is to argue by analogy. My onclusions from analogy in history can only be highly robable, but where I cannot be certain, I may prudently e guided by high probability. After having studied this, give nothing for the professions of statesmen; I judge hem by their acts. Our venerable friend, Bishop Moylan, f Cork, frequently told me, during his illness, and with erious emphasis and for useful purposes, how little reliance vas to be placed upon British statesmen by the Catholics f Ireland. His warning was conveyed in the relation of multitude of facts, in which he had been too well nstructed, because he and other bishops had been very ften artfully deluded by great and good men and by incere friends. I shall never forget his dying injunction o me upon the subject.

Look then to Irish history. I pass over the acts of William and Mary; I pass over those of Anne; I pass ver the cruel inflictions under George I; the whole period f the mean and deceitful Charleses and Jameses; the trocious times of Elizabeth I consign also for the present o oblivion; I begin with the ascension of George II. Up o this period the Irish Catholics were not deprived of he elective franchise, though by an act, which, if I am ightly informed, can only find its parallel in the old olony of Maryland, they were in the reign of Charles II hut out of their houses of legislature, of which they were nembers; excluded without any semblance of law or uthority, but by a simple vote of their associates, and ost part of their lands having been taken away, and they

being excluded from most of the corporations, though they had the right of electors in law, they did not generally possess it in fact, for want of qualification, during the reigns of William and Mary, Anne, and George I. But when George II came to the throne, Primate Boulter, who was then the chief oligarch of Ireland, observed that the number of Catholics who by law were qualified to vote had greatly increased, and that the Clanrickarde family had been, through Catholic influence, thrown out of the representation of Galway. The family of Portumna had then become Protestant, and joined the oligarchy. But the Catholics committod a worse crime, one which Britain seldom forgives. They were then to the Protestants as five to one, and for the first time some Irish Protestants began to look to the welfare of Ireland, and to form the Irish party in support of the civil liberty of their country; against those men Primate Boulter formed the English party; the Catholics joined the patriotic Irish Protestants, and with them sought the benefit of their common country. They voted in electing the parliament of 1727. And that very parliament in whose election they concurred deprived them of the elective franchise, and this was done by the contrivance of the oligarchy, in a clause by way of amendment, at one of the late stages of a bill, without notice or debate. In what does this nefarious act differ from the late attempt, so far as principle and apparent object are concerned? The cases are very nearly parallel. Primate Boulter wanted no debate then. All was done without agitation. It is true this late bill would not make so extensive a sweep; and Mr. Anthony Richard Blake might get into the House of Commons.

The act of George II disfranchised two-thirds of the Irish electors; so would the bill of Mr. Littleton. I could insure you a pretty ascendency to plague you, did it pass.

But the analogy will hold still farther. At that time, too, there was a Catholic rent, the payment of which was prevented, and the association broken up. Whilst an act

was pending to prevent Papists from acting as solicitors, the Catholics of Dublin and Cork entered into a subscription to defray the expenses of opposing the bill. An interdicted priest, one Hennesy, became, as all such unfortunate men will become, the accuser and defamer of his Church; he informed the government that this subscription was for the purpose of bringing in Popery and the Pretender. I do not find that he added "wooden shoes." The papers of the collectors were seized and laid before the House of Commons, I know not whether in a green bag or in a red bag. After the examination, the committee reported that it appeared to them, "that under color of opposing heads of bills, great sums of money had been collected and raised, and a fund established by the Popish inhabitants of the kingdom, through the influence of their clergy, highly detrimental to the Protestant interest and of imminent danger to the present happy establishment." From the printed report of the committee of the House of Commons, it was manifest that this subscription for bringing in Popery and the Pretender amounted to the enormous sum of five pounds, lawful money of Ireland! Your late association had a purse also, and was to do great mischief; under color of procuring bills, it was to be highly detrimental to the Protestant, that is, the Orange, interest, and of imminent danger to the present happy establishment, which makes the most salubrious and fertile island in the world, inhabited by the most patient and laborious and vigorous people on earth, the most wretched spot of human endurance on the surface of the globe.

The liberal Protestants of Ireland and the Irish Catholics associated for the benefit of their country. A subscription was made; it was more than five pounds. The donation of the Duke of Leinster, one of the best of Irishmen, the mite of the laboring 40s. freeholder, the confluence of the intermediate contributions, all formed a grand national reservoir, by means of which a nation thirsting for justice might be refreshed even under the fiery ray of a consuming

oligarch. This was more than could be endured by the enemies of Ireland. Your association was put down; the payment of your rent prevented; but as you were not quite as powerless as your predecessors under George II, some cunning should be resorted to before you could lose your franchise. Kind words, soothing promises, valueless professions of patriotism and friendship, won upon you, and you were induced with the best intentions to give the worst advice. To tell the Catholics of Ireland to remain quiet, until after every hope of their children should have been destroyed, by stripping the great body of the people of the last remnant of their rights—their franchise—Oh! my friend, how could you have ever, not consented, for you did not, but permitted, whilst you had a tongue to speak, a finger to write, or a hand to raise—how could you have permitted the poor Irish peasant whom I know you love, that poor man who has so often borne you in triumph upon his shoulder; whose heart expanded when you appeared; whose first shout was the expression of your name; whose affection for you was boundless as his confidence in you; whose triumph was your fame; whose little earning was a treasure open for your application to the public good—how could you have permitted that man to be disfranchised? And this, after he placed his money at your disposal and his rights in your keeping?

If I know anything of the policy of the union of Great Britain and Ireland, it was chiefly devised for the purpose of destroying the influence of the Catholic electors of Ireland. Their influence was increasing, they would have gradually driven the Irish Commons to do them justice, there would cease to be a Catholic and a Protestant party, but there would be an Irish party, and that party would be the majority of the nation, comprising men of every belief. This was not to the taste of the British Cabinet. The Orangeman was told by the whisperer from the castle: "The Papists have the elective franchise; their numbers are great; their voters are multiplying; your Irish Com-

mons must soon emancipate them, unless you join our British Protestant House: in Ireland only the Papists are a majority; in a united empire, they are a minority: consent to the union, or you will be overwhelmed." The castle told the Catholics: "The Irish Orangemen are so corrupt that emancipation never will be granted by the Irish House of Commons in which those Orangemen are and must continue to be a decided majority, but the English Protestants are without prejudice, or if they have fears, in case of emancipation, of seeing Catholics become a majority in the Irish House, they can have no dread from admitting a minority consisting of Catholics into a united parliament; the Irish Commons are corrupt, venal and bigoted; it is only by a union with Britain that the Irish Catholic can expect emancipation." Already pensions were held out to the clergy and the nefarious and almost simoniacal traffic was commenced. Better men could not exist than the bishops whom wily statesmen deluded. The union was effected by duping the Catholic; I once thought the Orangeman too was duped, but it is now clear he was not. It was an actual disfranchisement of the Irish Catholic by leaving him an influence in choosing only about one-tenth of the British House in which his rights were to be now disposed of, instead of leaving him an influence in the election of two-thirds of the Irish House, which before the union was to decide upon his fate. The effect of this disfranchisement was in truth the same to the Irish Catholic, as if an act had passed disqualifying electors of that communion from voting for twelve-thirteenths of the members of the Common House; as it must be manifest that whether you increase in certain ratio the number of members who are returned by Protestants only, or diminish the number returned by Catholics and Protests in the ratio, the result will be the same. But by this act both ratios were combined against the Catholic; and the hopes of Ireland were given to the keeping of *eleven British and two Irish members*. The Catholics could

return one of the Irish and had no influence over the return of the British members.

And now the oligarchy seeks to deprive the Irish Catholic of even this moderate influence. Did not the act of union sufficiently neutralize the power restored to the Catholic by the act of 1793?

And what has the result been? You have during a quarter of a century been bowing and dancing attendance upon your masters, and how have their promises been fulfilled? But you have grown strong, and they know it. You have lately united and pressed your claims. The eye of the world is upon you and upon them. They are worried by you, but still they bid defiance to public opinion. Instead of doing you even tardy justice, they cunningly contrive to sow dissension amongst you, and endeavor to rob you of that which constitutes your strength. How often has Britain lulled you into a false security and let in the enemy upon you. But you rose in your might, broke the new cords and the ropes of sinews, and your frown terrified your foe. Your appearance was uncourtly, you were agitators, it would become you better to cast away those curling locks which indicate your barbarity and corruption. Do, pray, allow your uncouth 40s. freeholders to be trimmed off. You will then be fit to enter the royal presence of the princes of Philistia. Do you not see, the secret of strength is made manifest? You know the source of your weakness. Why will you dally in danger? Though your hair should grow, your eyes will have been previously destroyed; in your fury you may grope for vengeance, and perish together with your oppressors. But now be prudent, and you need not dread this deplorable alternative of slavery; you need neither grind in a mill, nor shake the pillars of the State. Cherish the source of your energy; guard it as the apple of your eye; reject the blandishments of your disguised enemies; this is your maxim of safety.

But, my friend, a word more with you. The examination of the effects of the union has reminded me of a

fact. When Ireland was threatened with this calamity; when terror scowled upon the visage at every satellite of the castle; when desolation swept the fields; when the streets of her metropolis were almost empty; when the widow durst not mourn; when the orphan's eye looked in vain for that father whose name his tongue could not utter; when in such days as these traffic and barter were used to despoil the people, and the Catholics were assured by men who never kept faith with Catholics, that a united parliament would grant what that parliament has repeatedly refused,—one little patriotic band had the hardihood to walk boldly to the vicinity of the castle of Dublin, that in the very hearing of the agents of their country's ruin, in the face of the country, they might at least make a protest against the destruction of the rights of their country. The formidable guard with the pointed bayonet stood to prevent this band from entering the Royal Exchange; but they gained admittance. And one young man who never did and never will yield to terror, raised his voice that day and thus addressed his fellow-Catholics:

He said, that under the circumstances of the present day, and the systematic calumnies flung against the Catholic character, it was more than once determined by the Roman Catholics of Dublin to stand entirely aloof, as a mere sect, from any political discussion, at the same time that they were ready, as forming generally a part of the people of Ireland, to confer with and express their opinions in conjunction with their Protestant fellow-subjects.

This resolution, which they entered into, gave rise to an extensive and injurious misrepresentation, and it was asserted by the advocates of union, daringly and insolently asserted, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were friends to the measure of union, and silent allies of that conspiracy formed against the name, the interest, and the liberties of Ireland.

This libel on the Catholic character was strengthened by the partial declarations of some mean and degenerate mem-

bers, wrought upon by corruption or by fear, and unfortunately it was received with a too general credulity. Every union pamphlet, every union speech, impudently put forth the Catholic name as sanctioning such a measure, which would annihilate the name of the country, and there was none to refute the calumny. In the speeches and pamphlets of anti-unionists, it was rather admitted than denied, and at length the Catholics themselves were obliged to break through a resolution which they had formed, in order to guard against misrepresentation, for the purpose of repelling this worst of misrepresentations.

To refute a calumny directed against them as a sect, they were obliged to come forward as a sect, and in the face of their country to disavow the base conduct imputed to them, and to declare that the assertion of their being favorably inclined to the measure of a legislative incorporation with Great Britain, was a slander the most vile, a libel the most false, scandalous, and wicked that ever was directed against the character of an individual or a people. "Sir," said he, "it is my sentiment, and I am satisfied it is the sentiment, not only of every gentleman who now hears me, but of the Catholic people of Ireland, that if our opposition to this injurious, insulting, and hated measure of union were to draw upon us the revival of the penal laws, we would boldly meet proscription and oppression, which would be the testimonies of our virtue, and sooner throw ourselves once more on the mercy of our Protestant brethren, than give our assent to the political murder of our country; yes, I know—I do know, that although exclusive advantages may be ambiguously held forth to the Irish Catholic to seduce him from the sacred duty he owes his country; I know that the Catholics of Ireland still remember, that they have a country, and that they will never accept of any advantages as a sect which would debase and destroy them as a people."

Those Catholics joined with that young patriot in his protest. You are that young man; fear could not operate

upon you. I have always honestly addressed you; I must have no false delicacy upon a public question, in which the dearest interests of our common native land and our common religion are deeply involved. I will use the boldness of my friendship and love of my native land and my religion, even with the pain which it gives me to say, that I believe you were seduced to hesitate, by men by whom you were surrounded, by men whom I know, by men who would not stand by you at the Royal Exchange on that day; by men who know not the meaning of the word country, but who well know the meaning of the word court. Do, my friend, let Daniel O'Connell, in 1826, upon this question, maintain the principle which he so nobly sustained in 1800; the news will cheer many an Irishman who is numbed near the pole or who glows under the equator; and the name of his friend will still be surrounded with the affection and the prayers of

JOHN, *Bishop of Charleston.*

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